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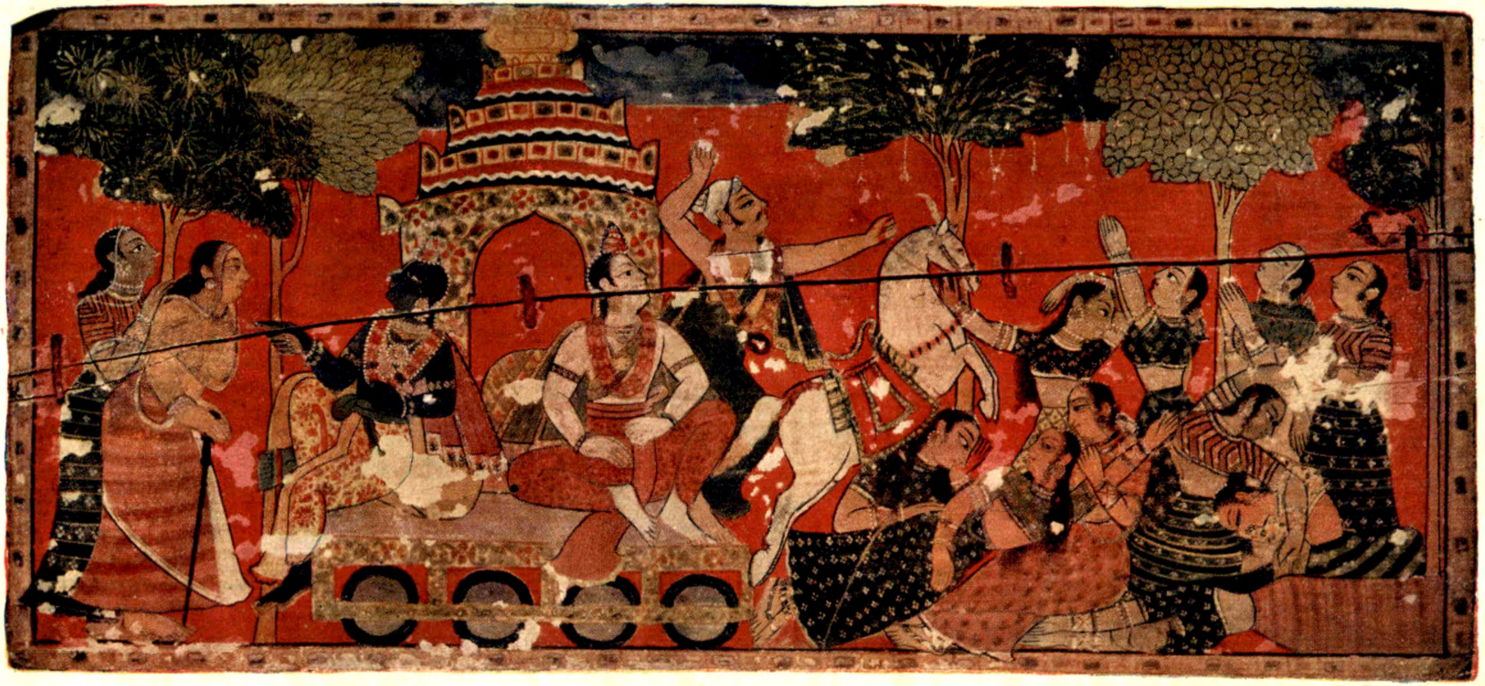

TO MATTHURA

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1928

RECENT REVELATIONS OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY[1]

A war of conquest, unless it is undertaken to keep some so-called backward nations, Asian and African peoples, under subjection, is somewhat repulsive to the free and independent nations of the West, who are to-day dominating the world. To preserve their national interests and to promote their national ambitions, every one of the Great Powers is ready to start a war; but none of them is anxious to bear the onus of starting it. Thus every one of the nations which were engaged in the World War, claimed that they entered it in self-defence, "to protect poor little Belgium" or "to make the world safe for democracy" and used elaborate propaganda agency to discredit the just claims of the enemy nations and often distorted facts, invented falsehoods and employed secret diplomacy to cover up designs of conquest and annexation.

When the Versailles Treaty was imposed upon Germany, in violation of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, which Germany accepted as the basis of the armistice and future peace, the statesmen of the *Triple Entente* invented the shrewdest method of justifying their position, by declaring that the war-guilt solely rested upon the shoulders of Germany and her rulers. Unless the archives of various nations involved in the World War be thrown open to responsible and impartial scholars who may undertake painstaking studies on the subject, it is hardly possible to determine the comparative and criminal responsibility of the statesmen of various nations in bringing about the World War.

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[1] Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy. By G. P. Gooch, D.Litt., Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London, 1927. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

Since her defeat in the World War and the establishment of the Republic, Germany is torn asunder with party politics in matters of internal and external policy of the Reich. But the German nation as a whole is fairly united in the opinion that the Treaty of Versailles should be revised on the ground that Germany alone was not responsible for bringing about the world war.

Within the compass of two hundred and twenty pages, the distinguished British historian Prof. G. P. Gooch, presents an analytic survey of the most important publications which have appeared in various countries, since the beginning of the World War, concerning the diplomatic history of Europe, from the accession of the Emperor William II to the Treaty of Versailles. It is needless to say that the book " Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy " is an invaluable handbook for students of international relations of recent times.

After the fall of the Kerensky government, the Bolsheviks, to discredit the capitalist governments and to affirm that the World War was due to imperialistic designs of the Great Powers, particularly the Entente group, which was not anxious to make peace, opened the archives of the Russian Foreign Office and published the secret treaties, agreements relating to Constantinople, Asiatic Turkey, the left bank of the Rhine and other commitments. " *The most substantial pre-war items was the protocol of Russian Crown Council of Feb. 8, 1914, in which comprehensive preparations for the seizure of the Straits during the World War were discussed and 'approved* ' (page 97).

Since then various books, based upon thousands of Russian Foreign Office documents, have been published ; and among them the works of Rene Marchand, the French editor and Fredrich Stieve, the German scholar, are the most outstanding ones. The conclusion arrived at by these scholars is that " Izvolsky worked for the World War since 1911, Poincare since the autumn of 1912, and in the end of 1913, Sazanoff saw in European complications the path which should lead Russia to the Straits......The so-called defensive war against the German aggressor...was in reality a war of conquest in the grand style, a strong concentric onslaught on the political equilibrium of Europe, the *status quo*. the maintenance of which was the interest of the Central Powers alone." (Pages 99-100.)

The same view is also imparted by the work of "*The Entente Diplomacy and the World, 1909-1914*" by Siebert and Schreiner. This work is "indispensible for the study of British as of Russian diplomacy, for Benckendorf's despatches report innumerable conversations with Sir Edward Grey and the Downing Street officials." (Page 98.)

Austria's responsibility in bringing about the World crisis begins with her aggressive policy of annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But this was done with complete understanding with Russia. Prof. Gooch says :—" The true story (of the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina); it need hardly be said, is very different from that which was current in England at the time and is still widely believed ; *for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was secretly arranged with Izvolsky, who claimed in return the opening of the Straits to Russian warships. (Page 61.)*

After the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand, the Austrian ultimatum precipitated the crisis ; but it becomes clear that Austria did not will the World War ; her intention was defensive and actuated by the purpose that, unless Serbia was checked and punished, the Austrian Empire was doomed to dissolution. There are sufficient proofs available now that some military leaders of Austria, realising a future conflict with Russia as inevitable, advised during the Balkan War to settle the question by taking action against Serbia and thus against Russia ; but the Austrian statesmen refused to adopt the policy of aggression or war. It is also clear now that some of the Austrian leaders thought that Italy might some day fight Austria, therefore when Italy started the war against Turkey, it was suggested that Austria should oppose Italy. But this idea was rejected with the hope of preserving cordial relations with Italy and not to disturb the already strained harmony within the camp of the Triple Alliance.

By an analysis of various documents, historical publications, and memoirs, Prof. Gooch gives startling glimpses of divergent goals of German and Austrian diplomacy, before and during the World War. During the World War, Germany made the suggestion that Austria should cede South Tyrol to Italy to buy her neutrality and Bukovina to Rumania, which was of course rejected. The dramatic story of the Austrian secret peace offer to France and negotiations with France and Great Britain by Emperor Karl, through Prince Sextus, can hardly be classed as anything less than betrayal of the Central Powers, particularly Germany ; because the Austrian Emperor proposed to France that Alsace-Lorraine should be returned to France. Prof. Gooch gives a very interesting account of this significant event.

'Austria must die so that there will arise a greater Serbia.' This was the policy of the two Serbian societies of National Defence and Union and Death, which were involved in the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo. Miss Edith Durham, in her work "*Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle and the Serajevo Murder*" exposes the details of Pan-Slav uprising against the Teutonic Powers of Central Europe as well as the complicity of the Serbian Government officials in the Serajevo crime. The "poor little Serbia," for whom the whole world expressed sympathy, had much to do in bringing about the World War. Bogistshevich, a Serbian diplomat, in his little book *The Causes of the War* summarises the situation. Prof. Gooch's analysis of it is as follows :—

"While Austria, after the formal annexation of Bosnia, desired nothing so much as the maintenance of the *status quo*, Serbia financially tied up with France and politically mortgaged to Russia, planned to extend her boundaries at the expense of Turkey and Austria successively...He (Bogistshevich) attributes the main responsibility for the conflagration to the ambitions of Russia and her latest Balkan protege (Serbia)" (page 116).

The summary of the important publications in Germany, as presented by Professor Gooch, convinces one that, German diplomacy, after the fall of Bismarck, was of a bungling nature; and although Germany did not want the World War, she allowed the country to drift towards it.

German statesmen stood by Austria, but they never took the trouble to put a check on Austrian policy which resulted in Austro-Russian rivalry and distrust in the Balkans. The German statesmen even worked for preserving peace, at the very last moment, but "it was too late." Indecision, fear and ignorance characterised the course of German diplomacy. The German statesmen realised that their country was being isolated in world politics and thus they clung to Austria, the only ally. Austria, without German support, was insignificant and thus the whole attack fell upon Germany and she had to bear the burden.

The opening of the archives of the German Foreign Office to the scholars, has been a very wise decision. The publication of the monumental work "Die Grosse Politik" and other works based upon official documents has disposed of many of the canards that Germany deliberately planned the war. Prof. Gooch writes: "*The contention that the rulers of Germany willed the war is now abandoned by the experts*" (p. 193). If Germany, particularly the Kaiser, ever wanted the war, he could have it in 1906 after the Russo-Japanese War, when

Russia was in no position to fight. In fact certain military authorities of Germany felt that Germany should not give Russia and the Entente time for preparation; but the Kaiser and his advisers rejected all ideas and advice which might have precipitated war in 1906 and during the Balkan Wars. Prof. Gooch, in this work, gives an excellent summary of the conflicting currents of thought of various German writers on the subject of German diplomacy before and during the World War.

German statesmen were curious mixtures of suspicion and indecision. They did not trust Great Britain, yet they thought that Great Britain would remain neutral. If they knew or realized that Britain would not remain neutral, then possibly the World War might have been averted at the last moment. For the best reasons known to Sir Edward Grey and others, particularly Sir Edward Goschen, the German statesmen were allowed to nurse the idea of British neutrality. The import of the following passage is immensely significant:—

"When he (Jules Cambon) told Jagow that England would take part, the Foreign Minister replied that the German Government was sure of English neutrality. *Sir Edward Goschen agreed with the forecast of his French colleague, but added that unfortunately he was not authorised to say so. 'That was the great misfortune,' comments Jules Cambon; 'if Germany had known that England would fight, I am convinced that she would not have risked the conflict.*" (Page 146.)

Indeed Germany was very poorly served by her officials in the Foreign Office, and particularly by those who represented her in London.

Prof. Gooch discusses the question of French responsibility of bringing about the World War and gives a copious survey of the charge that M. Poincare and Izvolsky worked for war. He at the same time gives the side of Poincare's own defence of his own position. He is convinced that there is much yet to be learnt of the French side of the story and it would be well for the French government to open its archives to scholars and historians. He makes the following significant remarks :—

"It is the wish not of her (France's) ancient foes alone, but also of well-tried friends, that France may fall into line with Great Powers, and reveal more of the jealously guarded treasures of the Qui d'Orsay. No civilised State is likely to suffer as much in the good opinion of a democratic world from disclosures of its diplomacy as it does by permitting the suspicion that it has guilty secrets to conceal." (Page 133.)

Prof. Gooch gives the French view of Witte and the bungling German diplomacy in the Bjorke pact, as described by M. Louis Maurice Bompard, Ambassador to Russia from 1902 to 1908.

"*The Russian Minister (Witte) rightly convinced that his country was unfit for a European War, desired to render it impossible by an alliance with Germany, into which France would enter voluntarily ; but since the Bjorke pact was concluded without consulting her (France) Bompard had no hesitation in combining with him (Witte) to annul it.*" (Page 135.)

The biography of George Louis, the Political Director of Qui d'Orsay by the veteran journalist Ernest Judet places grave responsibilities of the War upon the shoulders of Izvolsky, Poincare and Sazanoff. (Page 136.) Prof. Gooch throws light on the secret French diplomacy at Vienna, which was carried on by the French Ambassador Barrere, whose plan was to undermine the Triple Alliance by detaching Austria from it. To quote his words : "*while leaving the skeleton of Triple Alliance intact, to empty it of substance.*" (P. 138.)

The British part in the international conflict has not yet been completely told; and it is to be hoped that when the contents of the British archives are published under the direction of Profs. Gooch and Temperley, many unexplained facts will be cleared up. At the present time the works of Morel, Lord Loreburn and others play the rôle of balancing the conventional works, which show British foreign policy as beyond reproach.

No one with any sense of proportion in him will ever agree with all the conclusions of Lord Oxford, Earl Grey and others who try to give the impression that the military power in Germany chose its time and precipitated the war. Prof. Gooch thinks that Lord Oxford shows "*ignorance of materials of an extremely complicated case*" when he accuses German diplomacy and deals lightly with Russian motives. (Page 176.) About Earl Grey's book "*Twenty-five Years*" Prof. Gooch makes the significant comment: "*Like other protagonists on both sides in the great drama, he has different weights and measures for the Central Powers and the Triple Entente.*" (Page 180.) The following critical remark on Earl Grey's book is very refreshing to all students of history, and it gives the hope that truth is at last reappearing in the arena of historical study, though she was forced to take a holiday during the World War:—

> "In the analysis of the Bosnian crisis we hear nothing (from Earl Grey) of the secret negotiations of Izvolsky with Aehrenthal, for whom the wrath of Downing Street was reserved. The verdict that 'German action' created the Agadir crisis ignores the judicial strength of German case in Moroccan controversy, and the cumulative effect at Berlin of straining the Algeciras settlement. The unprovoked attack of Italy on Tripoli receives no censure. The importance of naval conversations with Russia in 1914 is minimised. They were authorised, he asserts, on condition that the country remained unpledged; he made no subsequent inquiries at the Admiralty; the copies of private Russian letters which reached Berlin gave the affair an importance it did not possess. In declaring that our (British) relations with France and Russia ensured that they would not enter on an aggressive or dangerous policy, he (Earl Grey) ignores the forward policy of Russia in the Balkans and the official encouragement of Serb designs on the integrity of the Hapsburg Empire." (Page 180.)

The major conclusion of Prof. Gooch, regarding the causes of the World War is as follows :—

" The root of the evil lay in the division of Europe into two armed camps, which dated from 1871, and in the doctrine of the Balance of Power, which is as old as the sixteenth century. The conflict was in large measure the offspring of fear. The old world had degenerated into a powder magazine, in which the dropping of a lighted match, whether by accident or design, was almost certain to produce a gigantic conflagration. No war, strictly speaking, is inevitable ; but in a storehouse of high explosives it required rulers of exceptional foresight and self-control in every country to avoid a catastrophe. It is a mistake to imagine that the catastrophe took Europe unawares, for soldiers and civilians alike had been expecting and preparing for it for many years. It is also a mistake to attribute exceptional wickedness to the Governments who, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, stumbled and staggered into war. Blind to danger and deaf to advice as were the statesmen of the three despotic Empires, *not one of them, when it came to the point, desired to set the world alight.* Though, they may be acquitted of the inexpiable crime of deliberately starting the avalanche, they must jointly bear the reproach of having chosen the path which led to the abyss. The outbreak of the Great War, however, is the condemnation not only of the performers who strutted for a brief hour across the stage, but above all the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did little to abate." (Pages 213-214.)

The treaty of Versailles which places the sole blame for the World War upon the shoulders of Germany, is being modified by subsequent actions. The Locarno Pact, the Dawes Plan, Germany's entry into the League of Nations, as one of the permanent members of the Council of the League, her representation in the Mandate Commission, are the indications of the spirit. It is expected that there will be further modifications of the Treaty ; but nothing will satisfy the German people unless the question of war guilt be decided by an impartial International Commission of expert historians who would examine the archives of various nations and determine whether it is not necessary to revise the clause of the Treaty of Versailles which places the sole guilt upon Germany's shoulders. Not merely to soothe German national conscience and pride, but to determine historical truth, it is desirable that an International Commission composed of such scholars as Prof. Gooch and others, presents its verdict on the question, based upon revelations of European Diplomacy.

TARAKNATH DAS

REALITY=SUPREME EXPERIENCE

Before reviving and reawakening, the problem of Reality should be a substance dreamlessly slumbering, whose only attribute is as then conceived in Its inactive stage to be Beingness *Sattá* unmanifest, with the further conception that this fundamental existence can by future manifestation cause experiences subjectively and objectively upon Itself, on attaining psychical and motional aspects spontaneously grown by self-movement within Its body. Reality in Itself is the idea of a substance, that is considered to be the real root-cause and potentiality of apprehension of everything existent, and the ultimate goal of potentialisation of every manifestation in involution; in Its true nature outwardly appearing as a voidness of any substance showing signs of what we ordinarily understand by consciousness. Accordingly the idea of Reality pertains to the idea of a substance which appears more as dormant Consciousness, as the *Sat Vastu.* This is just like the conception of existence of electric currents in a piece of Zinc and a piece of Copper, both immersed in a dilute solution of Sulphuric acid. As soon as a metallic connection is established between these metal plates outside the solution, a current of electricity is sure to spring up to be perceived by a conscious being. Then only appears the electric-consciousness in the system to have awakened, which all along remained dormant in the metal plates. In Reality proper therefore, in Its inactive stage, the Power of Consciousness called *Chit-Shakti* is supposed to remain in Her trance-like potentialised state, expecting to be aroused by some sort of activity, either in the form of a whirling motion or otherwise appearing in Its body due to Its own Will to evolve into many.

We have seen again that the first descent towards empiricism of revived and awakened Reality, from the absolute or

Turíya or Its trance-like attitude, for manifestation, is the feeling of *Asmitá* or *Ahantá*, resulting from the differentiation between Its psychical and motional aspects, due to what we may suppose to be whirling motions taking place within Its body. We have noted before that this *Asmitá* is a relative experience, because no two selves in the flux of selfhood are equivalent, due to subjective presentations merging in the subject psychologically. It should be noted here that upon revival It first conceived an awakening from the dreamlessly sleeping state, then arose the conception of a dream state in It, and lastly the awakened state of empiricism, which is the idea of relativity, to apprehend the phenomenal manifestation of the world. These whirling motions are supposed to be caused by Its tendency to revert to introspection of Fullness at every point, that previously caused the Will to evolve. The entire process we may explain to be due to the effect of revival from this trance-like existence of *Sangvit*.[1] The centre of each such whirl, being the least moving point, showed the psychical aspect and its surrounding presentations the motional aspect, causing subjective presentations. Thus the simply revived and so still introspective Supreme Experience was then considered to remain in a homogeneous continuum; whereas active and fully awakened Supreme Experience, when tending towards empiricism, could not but be a continuum of heterogeneity, consisting of condensed points of *Sattá* or Beingness and comparatively rather rarefied surrounding whirls of motion ; which latter could properly be called the "environments" in formal space ; because the first concept of space due to *Tatatva* experience had not been created yet. Thus the feeling of *Asmitá* should be considered to form at first as a collective or generic idea, which may be called the *Samashti* or higher "Self-feeling" also called Selfhood ; that followed the stage of *Paráhantá* or the stage before *Ahantá*, wherein all psychical activity including feeling was in a complete potentialised form. So much so that it had been such a form of existence, that by simply confining his survey to this form and by forgetting for the time being the rôle of evolution of Reality, one might easily be tempted to indulge in nihilism concerning the concept of *Sangvit*. But we see that all subsequent experiences due to further manifestations, revealed by the three *Shaktis—Ichchhá*, *Jñána*, *Kriyá*—of the Subject, as both psychical and motional presentations, was in relation to and felt by this awakened and subjective *Asmitá* as a "Dominant reality." This may be expressed in another way, to wit—all our experiences to be true experiences should be felt with reference to this primeval collective Selfhood when transformed into "Dominant Self" by subjectivation of the presentation of Selfhood, producing an unreproducible "Ego," and not through individual selfishness of a *Jíva*; because every point in the psychical continuum must be considered to be a cognising subjective centre. This could not arise out of nothing. On looking at the adversity of another being, our individual heart will not be properly moved until we can place in imagination our individual selves, as each forming an unit of collective creation, in the exact position of the suffering object, and compare his predicament with the ideal creation at large, which is construed by the *Shástra* as due to the compassion of *Shiva*; thus a universal privation—such as man is deprived of the power of flying in the air—does not weigh so much with us.

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[1] The *Shástra* conceives that *Sangvit* is the coalesced state in involution of *Brahmá* the Creator, *Vishnu* the Maintainer and *Shiva* the Destroyer. Again the life of *Shiva* is greater than that of *Vishnu*, which is again greater than that of *Brahmá*.

But experience is possible to a cognising subject only, that is one whose contents of consciousness are already all sorts of conceivable experiences; and this is the idea of Supreme experience, that in Its active stage may be called the *Psyche* of the Universe. Accordingly this *Asmitá*-aspect of active Supreme Experience was Its first *Prakásha* (manifested) form, although appearing in a contracted *Bindu* feeling of existence. The rest of this Reality, outside the *Asmitá*, although not forming exactly a distinct entity altogether, but the medium in which *Asmitá* appeared, was yet liable to be manifested as presentations by the action of the three Shaktis or Powers of *Asmitá*; which in their potentialised form are collectively called *Vimarsha* or *Pará-shakti* or the latent Power, the real cause of all patent manifestations, that had contained the universe within Herself as bundles of past experiences. Thus this *Asmitá* or *Ahantá*, the sole conscious Being conceived to be existing in the beginning of a new creation, as a flux of subjective manifestation, potentially contained within Himself the whole universe as yet unmanifest; since *Shakti*, the potency that caused manifestation of the universe during evolution to cognising centres, had held, withdrawn within Herself, the same universe in involution, while Herself became merged in Her Possessor the collective Selfhood. She is therefore called :—

(13) "*Kavalíkrita-nihshesha tattvagráma svarúpiní*" that is to say, the experiences of all past worlds became ultimately absorbed or fused into the Reality of Supreme Experience, as the result of all ultimate abstraction, that may be mathematically represented by the negative quantity Zero; and this may be said to resemble somewhat the feelings of a shipwrecked crew, floating on the bosom of mid-ocean, without any compass or clock to give them any idea of direction. Here we must remember that Reality conveys the idea of an ulterior existence that is ever present. Then what is this? It is the sum-total in a directionless stage of experiences of all past existences in creation, which is beginningless practically, and so is called Supreme Experience, there being no idea of relativity in such Experience.

From Shloka (14) hereinafter next quoted, we may see that *Pará-shakti* served the purpose of a mirror to make *Shiva* become aware of His own existence. But this awareness on the part of *Shiva* brought home at once to His consciousness the existence of *Shakti* as a simultaneous presence. Accordingly *Pará-shakti* is also called *Sphúta-Shiva-Shakti-samágama-vijáng-*

kura-rúpiní; *i.e.*, "She is the manifested union of *Shiva* and *Shakti* and is therefore both the seed and the sprout.' The object of this saying is that the manifestations of *Shiva* and *Shakti* are interdependent upon each other as cause and effect in the relation expressed by the simile,— "From the seed the sprout and from the sprout the seed." Again *Pará-shakti* is very subtile, and Her subtility appears apparent only while considering the effects of movements of minutest of particles as well as of greatest bodies in the universe. Similarly the utility of the theory of relativity is greatly appreciated while considering the movements of electrons as also of heavenly bodies. Further *Pará-shakti* is also called *Pará-vák*, which latter is the Power that held within Her all the letters of the alphabet, all which came out on the manifestation of this *Shakti* as name and form, and did build the language—the medium to conceive and convey all thoughts and feelings through.

The expression *Ahantá* is symbolically represented by the combination of the letters *A* and *Ha*, the first and the last letters respectively of the *Sangskrita* alphabet: meaning thereby that manifestations of other letters from *Pará-vák* are also included within these manifestations of the extremes in a flux. And the fifty-one letters of the *Sangskrita* alphabet practically constitute the symbolical and conscientious means to express the whole language. Here it ought to be said that creation is considered to be dichotomic—object-creation and sound-creation, both going on simultaneously; and from the sound-creation aspect the combination of these two letters signifies the whole series of the manifestations of *Pará-vák* in a flux during the evolution of Consciousness or the happening of dimensionalisation of Supreme Experience. The letters *A* and *Ha* go to build up the word *Aham*, the *Sangskrita* equivalent for the English "I" or Self; and *Ahantá* is the experience or feeling of the state of "I-ness" as a Beingness (*Sattá*) known as the dominant subjective existence. So the natural conclusion becomes that the first limited manifestation of Supreme

Experience appeared in the form of the experience of " I-ness " or egoism styled by Dr. Eriksen as " self-feeling," which is different from and subjectively experienced all presentations either psychical or physical of the universe, since these experiences are already in it as its contents.

Again, since the presentation of manifestation of the universe is due to some sort of motion happening in the actively conscious primordial Reality, the notion of that motion, when it became locomotion in the mechanical or mechanistic sense, caused a feeling to *Asmitá* as dominant self (resulting from the subjectivation of the apprehension of a particular point in the flux of Selfhood derived from the feeling of the moving subject), manifesting in the experience a spatial extension or the experience of space traversed by the *Bindu*-shaped *Asmitá*, whereby, properly speaking, the feeling of Space was first defined in the experience of Self as a comparatively limited and directed idea; this is known to us as the idea of infinity through the influence of *Ānava Mala.* Here it ought to be noted that *Asmitá*, which was at first a collective idea, is supposed to have had its centre of gravity anywhere and everywhere in the space-experience thus created; since this experienee of space was a subjective experience, and every point in this conscious space was a subject capable of experiencing manifestations. Therefore the experience of spatial extension at this stage was thought to be identical with extension itself, and is called *Tatatva.* Thus it is said—*Tatatvang deshato vyáptih.* But *Vyápti* (pervasion or extension) of what?—of Experience tending towards empiricism through subjectivation of an objective presentation of Self, and preparing the ground for the idea of relativity. While the experience of *Santatatva* of course extended so to say through the more accurate subjective idea of the sole point of *Asmitá* as self, in the sense that a line is a continuation of the persistence of a single point. Both these *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences arose simultaneously in *Asmitá* as a superposition on and a stultification of Supreme Experience, that originated the *Máyíya Mala.* It is therefore conceived that the first limitation or dimensionalisation of the experience called *Asmitá* or *Shiva* (which is itself a contracted form of Supreme Experience) appeared through a superposition on and a stultification of Supreme Experience, due to feelings occasioned by the locomotion of the *Anu.* The velocity of this locomotion naturally brought on the idea of a combination or, to use the mathematical term, co-ordination of the inceptional sensations of space and time. This was the idea of four-dimensionality, since all that developed into ideas of dimension or limitation arose simultaneously and in this initial first operation of evolution. This is the origin of the idea of relativity.

Our worldly experiences may be broadly classified into actual and imaginary. Of course here the distinction in classification is due more or less to our senses, external and internal, respectively. The internal sense consists of the Mind (*Antahkaraṇa*), the concrete term for all its functions (*Vrittis*) called *Manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahangkára* and *Chitta*, together with *Sangskára* (the origin of *Kármana Mala*) including habit. But *Sangskára*=subliminal consciousness immanent in *Jíva*, and Consciousness=Reality=Supreme Experience. The Indian philosophy, unlike the Western ideas, can never conceive the Mind to be in a state technically known as *tabula rasa*; on the other hand it ascribes that Mind owes its materials to Supreme Experience. Of course if the term *tabula rasa* mean the stage of being beyond all notions of time and space simply, then it does not clash with the doctrine of Indian philosophers.

Our ordinary experiences tell us that the idea of time is due more to an internal or psychical and subjectified realisation than the idea of space, which generally is an apprehension through our external senses of an objective presentation. This is really the origin of the distinction between name and form. Thus through the idea of time and that of space we can deduce the distinction between the internal or psychical and the external or motional sensations. The motional or mechanical presentations pertain to the phenomena of Nature or the physical world; and the psychical presentations are mental phenomena or more properly noumena. Prof. Das Gupta, in his "Study of Patanjali," says that—"An enquiry into the relations of the mental phenomena to the physical has sometimes given the first start to philosophy." [1] Thus *Shakti* in Her *Vimarsha* aspect has been conceived to be the pure mirror of *Shiva* for the purpose of arousing the philosophic notion of *Asmitâ* in Him in the following Shloka:—

(14) "*Sâ jayati Shaktirâdyâ nija-sukha-maya-nitya-*
nirupamâkârâ
Bhâvi charâchara-vîjang Shivarûpa-vimarsha-
nirmalâdarshah."

"She the Primordial Shakti who excels all and who in Her own true nature is eternal, limitless Bliss, is the seed (Bîja, that is, source or cause) of all the moving and motionless things which are to be, and is the Pure Mirror in which Shiva experiences Himself." [2] Thus *Shakti* was there the cause of motional presentation to *Shiva*, who had willed to evolve. Dr. Eriksen says that—"The connecting link between presentations and this abiding will we find in the feelings." [3]. Accordingly the first feeling felt by *Shiva* inclined to evolve was the feeling of Fullness. Again Srî Ānanda Āchārya, in his "Brahma-Darshanam," has said that—"The function of philosophy, strictly speaking, is the formulation of the relation between consciousness and the object presented to it." Accordingly the above Shloka, from the standpoint of this process of formulation, should be construed as the enunciation of the first philosophic principle in the universe; and this constitutes the manifestation of the idea of relativity.

P. 2. [2] "Kâmakalâ-Vilâsa," Shloka 2. [3] C. L. and F., p. 34.

The *Asmitá* as the nucleus of all our empiric concepts, philosophic or otherwise, was apprehended to involve Mind, whereas the external world was apprehended by it as Matter. But Reality must be underlying both the ideas. The scientific concepts are always busy with the Matter-aspect, and the philosophical concepts more or less with the Mind-aspect of Reality. The word Mind here should be considered as a synonym for thought, in analogy with what is understood in the "Sângkhya" philosophy by the term *Mahat* or *Buddhi-tattva*. Matter again is an apprehension through the idea of relativity and not the mere *duplication* of the external presentation on the mind. All empiric apprehensions are apprehended by the individualised subject aspect of Reality as *Jíva*, through the ideas of space and time. But the subject-aspect of Reality or the "Dominant self" of the "self-feeling" immanent in *Jíva* may be defined to be the individualised or centralised psychical presence, that appeared as a presentation to its own consciousness; which in other words may be expressed by saying that the self, besides being the subject, is also a sort of an object of experience felt through the objective presentation of its own existence. Thus in the empiric world the subject is never a pure subject, but always a coalescence of subject and object. But the self as subject should easily be understood to be a point of consciousness that experiences any presentation of *Asmitá*, while the self as object should be understood to evolve the senses, through which the sense-objects are apprehended. Again the self as object presents itself to the subject-consciousness to generate the feeling known as *Abhimána* or self-arrogation, which is understood by Sir John Woodroffe as the "I-making" faculty. So the self as object becomes ultimately a bundle of experiences arising out of a most immediate feeling felt by the subject. Hence it is said that the world exists because the "I" exists. Surely all experiences are thus the result derived from or apprehended through the function of immanent consciousness, which latter, accordingly in its active aspect and as ordinarily understood, may be defined as "the relation between object and subject." But Consciousness, in its absolute or purely metaphysical sense, refers to a stage wherein all duality of existence as object and subject, to discern any relation between, vanishes. So It is then called inactive Supreme Experience or the monistic Reality, having no idea of relativity in It.

To ordinary human understanding the idea of this Reality takes the form of an "Immediate feeling of being and life," technically known as the experience of "*Prânimi*;"[1] whereas essentially such understanding should transcend or go far beyond the scope of the activity known as life in the manifested world. Thus in tracing this idea of Reality, one naturally slides from the material into the psychical world; a process that may appear to many as an etherialisation or spiritualisation of the material world. Accordingly to them the doctrine of Psychism becomes quite comprehensible. So that this feeling of "I-ness," called "Dominant Self" by Mr. Turner, forms the basis of all future experiences and necessarily of the feeling of Fullness that incited to action for assuming motional attitude. Consequently *Sphûta-Shiva Shakti* is conceived to be *Chidânandechchhâjñânakriyarûpâ.*

By way of speculating on the idea of Reality, Prof. Carl Benedicks has said in his work entitled "Space and Time" that the conception of *immutability* is quite natural to man; and he adds—"The search for the Permanent, the Unchangeable, the Eternal, in the manifold variety of Nature appeals to every thinking human being, and has always done so."[2] But why is it so?—because man has sprung from a Reality, which is eternal and immutable Supreme Experience in Its essence. This immutable Reality is Consciousness Itself and is accordingly called *Chit* or *Chaitanya,* which differs from, but forms the basis of, all ordinary human or empirical experiences.

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[1] See Shloka 22, *post.*

[2] P. 19.

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These experiences no doubt owe their origin to a dual differentiation into subject and object of the Absolute. Of course such a differentiation can seldom transcend the concepts of space and of time derived from the initial feelings of pervasion and intension of *Asmitá* both motionally and psychically ; since these feelings resulted from the *Tatatva* and the *Santatatva* experiences mentioned above. So that, what the oldest of Greek philosophers, Thales of Miletus, the *Apostle of Immutability,* sought to establish as the primary matter, " the unconditional unity (unalterably fixed element) in all change and multiplicity," may be said in respect of this Reality, *viz.,* the inactive Supreme Experience ; and what Heraclitus " the obscure " claimed to be the most essential feature of experience or appearance, *viz.,* " Change," may be conceived to be due to *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* variations of experience, arising in the *Asmitá* feeling of Reality or the active and centralised Supreme Experience. Surely it is needless to say that without the idea of space and that of time the word "change" is quite unintelligible. Supreme Experience in Its inactive attitude can never vary, but the *Tatatva* and the *Santatatva* experiences have got aspective features, that cause feelings of all variations to become quite possible to be experienced in the manifested world.

The ideas of space and of time are always most conspicuous in all our empirical experiences. In fact they are the real elements whereby apprehensions of all *duplications* of objective presentations are specialised in our mind. But between the two, as has been already stated, the idea of time is more due to the result of psychical activity, and consequently is a mental phenomenon. Again both these perceptions are conceived to be possible because Reality is Consciousness or Supreme Experience. Thus the first limitation towards dimensionalisation, appearing in the directionless inactive and even in introspective Supreme Experience, are the three motional dimensions of space and the psychical dimension of time. And these perceptions owe their origin to *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences in the beginning,

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and both of which by their simultaneous appearance did go to constitute what is meant by *Tattva*, a concept that shall last as long as the world-manifestation or phenomenality will last. Again because these limitations are ever present in our consciousness, which is a veiled condition of Supreme Experience, being based on the idea of relativity, so our intellect is always subject to these two primal intuitions. And the veiling thus caused is what is said to be due to the action of *Mâyâ* or *Avidyâ*.

There is very little of any absolute significance in all our ordinary experiences of daily life, which, no doubt, are all of them ever steeped in phenomenality ; although now and then it may be found that particular groups of people are earnest enough in trying to liberate their mind from all ideas of time and of space, for the purpose of properly apprehending some absolute concept. But the concepts of time and of space in abstraction may be called the " inherited prejudices " that always subjugate the general run of human mind, and thus go to form the true elements for the apprehension of phenomenality. Again between these two ideas of time and of space, according to classical mechanics, in contradistinction to the idea of four-dimensionality, time is more absolute than space ; because " it is independent of the position and the condition of motion of the system of co-ordinates," says Prof. Einstein, in discussing of the four-dimensional space, which is more or less a psychical apprehension ; whereas presentative space being in fact defined by motion, always requires some body of reference in the mechanical sense of physics. Here of course by the phrase " system of co-ordinates" is implied the Cartesian method of ascribing a body of reference for the purpose of apprehending motion in the mechanical world. Thus it is necessary to realise motion through the ideas of time and of space in physics; and all this is true of objective presentations only. But according to the principle of four-dimensionality, time, which is more the effect of a psychical process of subjectivation of an objective presentation of space, is also robbed of its independence of the idea of space ; because the theory of relativity considers the world as a four-dimensional continuum, wherein time should be looked upon as a relative condition or mode of Reality, whose experience of course has been varied or modified to time-experience being affected by the perception of space caused by Its initial locomotion. This is really apprehended through the psychological process known as subjectification of an objective presentation ; since Reality is always a psychic and cognising presence, because Its contents are always all sorts of experiences.

According to what has been stated above, the theory of relativity is ever busy with ascribing some body of reference to motion in the mechanistic sense, as its mathematical system of co-ordinates, and so it appears to deal with movement in its mechanical aspect only. But the movement of a psychical Reality, in the psychical world, where there should surely be total absence of any material body of reference, could not but be properly referred to a purely idealistic system of co-ordinates, devoid of any idea of orientation, but resting in the metaphysical point of Self as *Asmitá*, the sole limited concept of existence residing within an unlimited continuum of awakened Supreme Experience as Selfhood. At this stage, the idea of space became so absolute that the same might have been replaced by a notion of motion merely. This is what is actually to be apprehended by the saying that space is defined by motion. Prof. Einstein also says that—" we entirely shun the vague word ' space ' of which, we must honestly acknowledge, we cannot form the slightest conception, and we replace it by ' motion relative to a practically rigid body of reference.' " The idea of rigidity in the absolute and metaphysical sense surely tantamounts to the idea of a formless thing that remains unchanged through time. In the psychical world it must be the dominant self as the experience of *Asmitá* ; because to our conception the only other presence then, *viz.*, the Not-self or the idea of *Idantá*, is practically unlimited, and this is really the idea of *Shakti*. Thus we see here, how space being immaterialised may be transformed into motion; and time, being the subjectified or psychical aspect, realised through the experience of the existence of Self, of the motional presentation of space as motion at this stage, became the repeated discrete presences of Self during the progress of motion that defined space, although it had got nothing of substantivity in it. Thus time as *Sàntatatva* and space as *Tatatva* both are really modes of active Supreme Experience, which ultimately helped the apprehension of phenomenality in both the mechanical and the psychical senses.

All empirical experiences are mainly derived through the instrumentality of *five* material senses of man ; consequently his sensual knowledge cannot but be relative. Whereas absolute knowledge is knowledge through some subjective or psychical experience of an aspect of the ultimate monistic principle and of nothing else. The Indian philosophy calls these material senses as the five outer senses, which originated co-ordinately with the five gross elements (*Bhūta*) of the physical world. So that according to this philosophy there is also an internal sense, which is the immediate direct cause of internalising or subjectifying all our ordinary experiences, and is called the mind as *Antahkaraṇa.* This is the only organ through which we can entertain any concept tending towards absolute significance. Thus ideally we may often indulge in thinking of absolute concepts, notwithstanding the fact that our external senses are not potent enough to receive any actual sensual presentation for gaining experience of such a thing. This sort of consideration leads to the distinction between formality of geometry and actuality of the physical world. Concepts of absolute significance appear at first as a theoretical possibility only in our mind. The Indian philosophy again holds that the idea of possibility must metaphysically owe its origin to the experience felt by some psychical presence, which is accordingly supposed to be Supreme Experience—the coalescence of all possibility and actuality of experiences, in the sense that white light is the result of coalescing of all coloured lights, of the spectrum although appearing as completely colourless.

There is no denial that constant attempts to reconcile the ideal with the actual or *vice versa,* are generally the sources of progress for human knowledge regarding phenomenality. These attempts are being constantly carried on within the province of physical science, which is conversant with the material world only. Thus as a particular branch of human knowledge the physical science is less absolute than the psychical and metaphysical truths, now and then gleaned by human mind: although these latter again may often fail to impress us with their absoluteness, due to our imbecility to apprehend them properly through a four-dimensional survey.

From the above considerations it may be easily concluded that motions are classified into psychical and mechanical, and the worlds in which they are supposed to occur respectively are distinguished as the psychical and the physical spheres. The word motion, in the psychical sphere, and in its subjective sense, is equivalent to Self-activities. Thus we see that, since Reality is a psychical presence in the form of Supreme Experience, and since creation means delimitation or dimensionalisation, both psychical and mechanical, of the fundamental Being, therefore the first activity conceivable is of a purely psychical or metaphysical nature having also, to suit our conception, a mechanical aspect as well. Thus subsequently on the appearance of the experiences of space and time, and consequently of the idea of relativity, this activity attained the further quality of appearing as more mechanical than psychical, that ultimately veiled the psychical aspect altogether. This is said to be due to the veiling by *Tamas Guṇa.* Thus, although the activities of the physical or mechanical world may appear to us sometimes as not of the same order as those of the psychical one, yet it can safely be said that both depend upon the same principle, but vary due to the *Tamas Guṇa.* Accordingly we generally try to apprehend the latter by comparison with our experiences of the former, as these are more congenial to our material senses.

If we assign the external world exclusively to be the subject of science, then philosophy must at least claim the internal world for its theme. But external or internal to what?—the Self, the subjectified and centralised aspect of Reality or Supreme Experience as *Asmitá.* This proves that all knowledge must be with reference to *Ahangkára* or self-arrogance, the I-making faculty, that makes us feel miserable at every discomfiture of any worldly aim. This *Ahangkára* again is due to the first limited aspect of collective (*Samashti*) " self-feeling " assumed by Consciousness or Supreme Experience, called Its first subjectified aspect in the beginning. Although this subjectified aspect is absolutely necessary for the monistic Reality to project out Its *Shakti* for the cosmic evolution, yet It became Itself veiled by the intuitions of space and of time at the same time, as the effect of such projecting process.

Thus science, the knowledge of the external world, and philosophy, the knowledge of the internal or psychical world, should co-operate to form a complete knowledge of Reality. The distinction between the external and the internal worlds is, as we have seen, due to the first subjectivation-objectivation differentiation adopted by Reality or Supreme Experience for the purpose of apprehending cosmic evolution ; and this may be conceived to be due more or less to the motional or mechanistic and the psychical aspects of the activity of Reality. The combination of these activities, in Āgamic language, is called *Shivá-Shakti samāyoga,* whence arose the ideation of creation, which in plain language means the commencement of all phenomenal apprehensions or experiences. Thus philosophy arose out of the consideration of the relation between the internal and the external worlds, as already stated.[1] So that, between science and philosophy, by the exclusion of the one from the other, we cannot expect to gain a complete knowledge of a phenomenon, but must remain satisfied with a partial knowledge only of it, which is not likely to be true always. Thus Zoology, which consisted originally of a classification merely of Species and Genera, has now given birth to the far more interesting science of Bio-chemistry, through the exertions of evolutionists. Similarly Physiology has become the Bio-physics of the present day; and Botany is going to be raised to a much higher platform through the praiseworthy labours of Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose. There is no doubt that these effects are due more or less to the combination of philosophy with science.

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[1] See Shloka 14, *supra.*

It has been stated before that the Supreme Experience is the store-house of possibility or potentiality of all phenomenal experiences. The *Āryya Rishis* argued that unless the image had been present potentially in the crude stone, how could then the statuary possibly manifest through the exertion of his skill any figure under contemplation out of such a stone? Again the same figure might have been given thousand other different shapes than what it actually has got. Thus it is clear that the difference between the Supreme and the empirical experiences is something like the difference between possibility and actuality. Science deals exclusively with a portion of actuality; but philosophy embraces both actuality as well as possibility, and accordingly the latter is more comprehensive. Again science more or less consists of "pointer-readings" of certain physical attributes of phenomenal presentations, whereas philosophy always tries to realise completely through internal intuition. So if the phenomenal world be nothing but manifestations of the Power of *Chit*, then does not the process of apprehending any such manifestation, through whatever *Chit* is immanent in us, appear more proper and possibly more accurate?

Now *Parā-shakti* is another name for *Vimarsha-shakti*, which is said to be the real cause for the manifestation of *Shiva* as *Ahantā* or "Self-feeling" (*Bindurahangkārātmā*). The thirty-six *Tattvas* are collectively, though crudely and partially, understood by the Western mind as something more than a *duplication* of the "external world," according to Prof. Eddington's explanation quoted before. The apprehension of this external world, in the language of the Eastern seers, would happen through cognition by a modification of Consciousness or *Chit* as *Buddhi* called psychically active consciousness. The objective external or surrounding world is conceived by Dr. Eriksen as common to all individual subjects (*Purusha*) and so accessible as presentations to cognitive consciousness, causing modifications therein. He further says that—"The basis for this community of surroundings is of course space, which at the same time is the extreme verge of presentative consciousness, being the very principle of *objectivity*, while self-feeling is the principle of subjectivity, representing the extreme point to which consciousness (immanent of course) can withdraw itself without objectifying its subjective experience to separate and reproducible elements of psychic life."[1] Prof. Eddington also says that—"It is the essence of such an external world that we are all partners in it on the same footing."[2] But as through the idea of space we can reach to the common basis of objectivity, similarly through the mental or psychical process that causes the generation of the idea of time, known more or less to be a process of restricted abstraction from the external objectivity, it is possible to arrive at the common and ultimate basis of subjective consciousness, which is nothing but Cosmic Consciousness called *Parâhantâ*. This we say, because roughly speaking, the dominant form of the inner sense is time and not space ; and because "time is the form by which we separate or distinguish between our various inner experiences" according to Dr. Eriksen. All objectivity in the presence of this *Parâhantâ* is reduced to a bundle of corresponding prior experiences called *Sangskâra*, which is subliminal consciousness, since creation is beginningless of such *Sangskára* in Supreme Experience.

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[1] C. L. and F., p. 4.

[2] S. R. and R., p. 192.

It ought to be stated here that in this subliminal stage, for want of any actual time limitation, in our sense, the subject really fails to feel the pastness of these *Sangskára*-experiences ; on the other hand all appear to it as simultaneous and present, like what we have in our dream state. This is really the idea of four-dimensionality, as is shown by the true apprehension of the *Gáyatrí Mantra,* wherein *Vidmahe* is for the past aspect, *Dhímahi* is for the present aspect and *Prachodayát* is for the future aspect, of Consciousness. So that the realisation of this *Mantra* must mean a four-dimensional experience. Thus it is said that time ceases to have any meaning to inner or psychical experience, because there "we no longer have to do with distinguishable experiences singled out from the background itself in its enduring, continual identity.''[1] Thus it is clear that ultimately objectivity or rather its apprehension merges in unreproducible subjectivity, and so it is proved that Reality is nothing else but Consciousness (*Chit*) or Supreme Experience, apprehensible only through the study of Its subjective activity, discarding or eliminating Its objective side altogether.

Regarding the subjective and the objective extremes of Consciousness (by analogy with immanent consciousness), Dr. Eriksen says that—"It is important expressly to note, that these two extremes must be placed outside the confines of the psychic life in so far as this is understood to consist of conscious processes, embraced by memory. The self as such and the outer sense as such cannot enter into memory. To do this they must undergo a sort of transformation, which, as we have seen, to the outer sensations implies a process of subjectivation and to the self (with its feelings and impulses) a process of objectivation.''[2] Is not the word "memory'' here a synonym for *Sangskára* ?

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[1] C. L. and F., p. 15.

[2] C. L. and F., p. 4.

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But the objectivation of *Parâhantâ* means manifestation of *Shakti,* wherein matter, in the form of Ether of Space even, and either Mind or Soul, had not appeared yet in the ever-existing *Amanah* continuum of Supreme Experience. Thus Reality is possible to be apprehended only through the subjectified experiences of "self-feeling" or *Asmitâ* as a reproducible element of subjective intuition and not as an objective perception through presentativeness. The sensation of this subjective intuition represents the feeling of the Self as if itself undergoing the operation constituting the presentation. Hence *Shiva* as true knowledge must be the subjective experiencing aspect of Reality, apprehensible through the combined effort of several different branches of knowledge known to humanity ; and the joint effect of all branches of knowledge is sure to appeal to Supreme Experience for becoming perfectly comprehensible. In short, knowledge proper is not like the detached learning of a new language. Again Supreme Experience is knowledge that transcends the idea of both time and space, the elements whereby the notion of four-dimensionality arises in our consciousness ; and so Reality is actually beyond four-dimensionality, since the latter is the first empiric sensation of the Absolute, while in Its embryonic tendency towards evolution.

BEPIN BEHARI NEWGIE.

MY FALLEN SISTER

I.

Defile my brother will not his lip
With water that I touch,
Embrace my mother will gutter foul
To save her from my clutch.
She names me not but weeps aloud
For child that died at birth.
That child? I know for me it stands ;
My name's cast out from earth.
My father palsied in that home
I left for loveless sin ;
With life he parted shame to hide
From mocking kith and kin
While sin on sin I multiplied,
Deceiving men and men.
Oh what! Oh what I have become
Oh! when I think of them.
And yet thou sayest, voice of heart,
That He, from whom all love has birth,
Holds me on His breast of love—
In heaven love's He whose smile is earth.
O cover me below, above
And wipe me out in joy and love!

II.

I look upon my fulsome heart,
My hope of Thee grows dark,
The fire of evil in my heart
In act but shows a spark—

The tree of evil's hid in heart,
And act, its flying bark.
What men, in me call, good's not mine,
All good unminds my call.
The good in me but stirs to death,
Beneath dark evil's pall.
O, give me love and give me rest—
A naked child upon Thy breast.

III.

O, stop my mouth, O, still my heart
When I to prayer bend.
O, what can I in prayer ask,
Or ever Thee ward send?
O, I was Thine ere I knew me,
O Lord of love and life,
O, save me, save me from my self,
O, kill in love this strife,
O, teach me I my greatest foe,
To know good I pretend!
What I call good is not Thee, Love,
Of evil 'tis a blend!
For me what's good Thou knowest best
In faith in Thee, O give me rest!
O, close my mouth and still my heart,
I rest in Thee, whate'er Thou art!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

GOLDEN BELLS

There was once a poet of China, Po Chü-i, in the ninth century, whose name is not as well known as it should be to the average English reader.

This poet tells us—

> "When I was almost forty
> I had a daughter whose name was Golden Bells,
> Now it is just a year since she was born;
> She is learning to sit and cannot yet talk."

Golden Bells! How suggestive of the clear, ringing cadences of a child's voice. Can you see the tiny, dimpled creature with big black almond eyes that hold one spell-bound by their innocence? One fat little fist grasping a gorgeousness of old embroidery, the other clenched against a roseleaf mouth. In another poem this same Po Chü-i speaks of

> "My niece, who is six years old, is called "Miss Tortoise;"
> My daughter of three,—little "Summer Dress."
> One is beginning to learn to joke and talk;
> The other can already recite poems and songs.
> At morning they play clinging about my feet;
> At night they sleep pillowed against my dress.
> Why children, did you reach the world so late,
> Coming to me just when my years are spent?
> Young things draw our feelings to them;
> Old people easily give their hearts...."

Chinese nomenclature is a fascination even in translation. When applied to children it becomes a revelation. But a child is a revelation in itself and its chief charm is its spontaneity. It knows not caste, its creed is taken from the book of Nature. Look into the eyes of childhood and there you will find judgment. As we grow older we learn to veil our feelings, our eyes deny often what is in our hearts to say; but a child cares naught for tactful evasion of the truth. Big eyes open wide in a baby face and one's fate is settled in a baby heart. There are no half-measures in a child-mind, no hesitant ponderings of "To be or not to be." "Summer dress" will gurgle with delight at your advent; "Miss Tortoise" *ætat* six, will wrinkle a snub little Chinese nose and ignore your presence altogether. Little animals, both of them, alive with unexplainable instinct. In the dim future both will possess tiny counterparts of themselves, bonny wee dolls that cling to their father's robes of jade and gold, and pillow tired heads on mother's satin shoulder.

> "She is still a child, my lord,
> She runs about your palace and plays,
> And tries to make of you a plaything as well.
> She heeds not when her hair tumbles
> Down and her careless garment drags in the dust,
> She falls asleep when you speak to
> Her and answers not, and the flower you give
> Her in the morning slips to the dust from her hands.
> When the storm bursts and darkness is over the
> Sky she is sleepless; her dolls lie scattered on
> The earth and she clings to you in terror.
> She is afraid that she may fail in service to you.
> But with a smile you watch her at her game.
> You know her,
> The child sitting in the dust is your destined
> Bride, her play will be stilled and deepened into love."

Thus Rabindranath Tagore in "Fruit-gatherings." It takes a tolerant mind and an unspoilt heart to enter into the feelings of childhood. To a child the world is a wonderful place. This is the natural outcome of irresponsibility, but the jaded adult captures again a fleeting effervescence of quondam youthful spirits when Golden Bells takes him by the hand and leads him into lands of enchantment *viâ* the paths of her merry prattle.

Curiosity is an attribute of cows and of children. They both stare hard at the passer-by, serenely unconscious that they are committing a breach of good manners. A child would seem indeed to be asking an eternal question. " Grown-ups " are supposed by virtue of their very " grown-uppishness " to be a mine of information on every conceivable subject, a human encyclopædia, in fact. Tommy loses faith in father's vaunted wisdom when his parent cannot tell him where the flame of a match goes to when he blows it out. The adult mind can never thoroughly understand the child-mind because the child-mind is a storehouse of hidden delights from which adults are rigorously excluded. After all, the child is justified. All the secrecy among grown-ups, the whispering, the nodding, the " don't-say-it-in-front-of-the-children " attitude is a direct incentive to a spirit of reciprocation. A child is as sensitive to a slight as an instrument to the touch of a master-hand, and children, especially boys, love to be trusted. The child-mind is everlastingly seeking. Look into a baby's eyes. They are notes of interrogation in everything but shape. Look at the portraits of children throughout the ages in the great galleries of the world, chubby scraps of humanity confronting you with a momentary seriousness of outlook engendered by the watchful eye of the artist. " Do not forget that works of art, created for the eyes' delight, say most to friendly eyes, to those that examine them with perseverance and sympathy. What secrets a portrait tells about its model and its painter ! " says Ch. Moreau-Vauthier. So in these paintings by master-hands we get the history of the child throughout the ages from the stiff gorgeousness of a Juan Pantoja de la Cruz creation to the dimpled shyness of a Reynolds ; from the Cupid-like chubbiness of a Dürer head, the pouting naturalness of a Rubens, to the clear-eyed wistfulness of a Greuze. " The answer of Allah the All-merciful is written in the shadowless eyes of a child," says Cranmer-Byng in " Salma." That is the solution of the mystery, the nearness of a child to God, the freshness of childhood emanating direct from the heavens. A child is as a sweet new fruit brought into the markets of the world, and its nearness to

God is well-expressed in a passage from the writings of Ibn al' Arabi :—

> "The child affects the father's disposition, so that he descends from his authority and plays with him and prattles to him, and brings his mind down to the child's, for unconsciously he is under his sway ; then he becomes engrossed with seeking what is good for him and amusing him, that he may not be unhappy. All this is the work of the child upon the father and is owing to the power of his state, for the child was with God a short while ago, having newly come into the world, whereas the father is further away ; and one that is further from God is subject to one that is nearer to Him."

So we get the majority of adults longing for a return of childhood, sighing for the days of wondrous youth, when, disillusioned, they find themselves burdened with the responsibilities of age. And when they take leave of childhood their tears are shed, not for the elaborately furbelowed Paris doll but for the battered and faded fetish whose head lolls pathetically on a checked gingham shoulder. Ugliness becomes beauty in the loving eyes of a child. Toys have hearts that respond to the curiously maternal outlook of Golden Bells. Inanimate objects pulsate with a life endowed by sheer imagination. But we have put them all away, packed them in a cupboard, and in return brought forth a dust of memories. The game is finished ...the Sandman calls and beckons···tousled curls veil drowsy eyes..tiny feet are faltering ..

"Young things draw our feelings to them ;
Old people easily give their hearts......"

Little Golden Bells, good-night !

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

THE MANDARIN ROBE (YANG KUEI-FEI)

It lay across the bed in voluptuous folds of yellow satin. The day was dull, but the robe illuminated the room like a wavy sun. One corner of it was turned back, showing a quaint blue brocaded lining, patterned with a design like noughts and crosses. White, stork-like birds, twisted into fantastic shapes, made their homes in medallions, among big pink-shaded blossoms and smaller blue flowers entangled in a riot of golden threads. Like a proud river dividing golden sands, a broad band of jade flowed in sable-bordered majesty, half-way. Sable, too, the hem and sleeves starred with the self-same blossoms and birds. Scarlet lettering was dotted at uneven intervals upon its gorgeousness, in forms that looked like the curving crests of pagodas. It blotted out completely the greyness of the afternoon. Its shimmering beauty was the passing pageant of the old order silver nail-shields, four inch butterfly shoes, nodding pom-pommed head-dresses, lacquered palanquins... It lay on the blue silken coverlet, a pathetic, superbly magnificent reminder of Eternal Change. And suddenly it stirred, very gently, as though a soft breeze had striven to move its satin weight. And from beneath it came a little sigh, a happy slumbrous little sigh, such as a fairy might make in the cup of a flower when settling to sleep after a dancing night on a shadowed lawn. Then I saw movement beneath its folds, gradual, sinuous movement as of one with supple limbs. A hand crept out, a lovely hand, ivory and long-nailed. Followed its fellow··· tiny, tiny hands, that seemed too delicate to push away those satin folds, as now they did, or stroke with pearly palms two ebony velvet eyes that looked at me like drowsy almonds, beneath a canopy of jet-black hair studded with flowers and ornaments. A small mouth opened in a yawn, then spoke :—

"The wine-cup is potent," it said, "but the cup of death is more potent still." She emerged from beneath the robe and sat on the edge of the bed dangling minute though unbound feet in silver-embroidered slippers. .

" When I died " she said, and seeing me start, smiled a melancholy smile, " when I died the emperor was sad."

She shook her head till the flowers and ornaments quivered as though in sobbing sympathy. Her robe was of turquoise blue embroidered in topaz and emerald silks. Jade ornaments tinkled when she moved, and her voice was like a bell.

" We loved with a great love, mighty as a rushing wind." Her eyes grew amorous, melting···" and in the end—"

" Yes, in the end —? " I queried eagerly.

" In the end I died. It was the only way to save my lord. The Lord of All gazed from his shrine as I tied the silken cord around my neck and fastened it to the branch of an ancient tree. I did not want to die. For twenty years had my lord showered his favours upon me. We had vowed our vows and pledged our troth. Ah, he was kind, my lord, and those were golden days of feasting and the wine-cup, music and caresses. I would ride by my lord's side in a chariot of sandalwood and feed the fishes in the Hua-ch'ing Palace Lake. I slept in a bed of gold and bathed in a bath of white jade. I inhaled the perfume of a thousand flowers of which, said my lord, none was fairer than me. He would take a delight in my dancing of the " Rainbow Skirt and Feather Jacket " and command Li Po to write a poem in my praise. My every wish was granted, my every whim satisfied. I fed on delicate fruits and rare fish. Sweet to my mouth was the taste of li-chis, and sweet to my ear the sound of the silken sleeves of the Son of Heaven when I lay in his arms." She drew my robe about her as though it were, in very truth, an embodiment of long-past joy.

" He never knew," she sighed.

" Who? What?" I queried, crudely.

" My lord, Ming Huang, he never knew that I loved An Lu-shan."

" But you loved *him*, Ming Huang," I protested.

" I loved them both," she said, and tears shone in her eyes. " An Lu-shan was young and beautiful. Moreover, my sister loved him."

" Ah! " I cried, as one enlightened.

She clasped her little hands. The nail-shields glittered.

" We dwell together now, my lord and I, on the Isle of P'u T'o, in the beneficent shadow of Kuan Yin. Long my lord sought me and once I visited him on earth. His anguish was great. He cried out to me, but I, being but shadow, could do naught to quell his sorrow. But now we are together for ever, for ever." She stroked the satin folds with satin fingers. Her eyes grew dreamy, far-away. And suddenly the gloom vanished; the sun shone out, polishing the robe to further splendour, and with the shining of the sun there stole on the air a faint scent as of sandalwood and exotic spices. A blue-grey vapour filled the room through which the face of Yang Kuei-fei showed dimly. A bell sounded softly, " I was a perfumed sacrifice..." The mist cleared. The mandarin robe lay across the bed in voluptuous folds of yellow satin. I picked it up reverently and smoothed the pillow where ivory and ebony had lain together.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

FEAR AND LOVE

I.

Does ev'r the mother her child forget ?
I hear from all, " No, no."
O Thou my Mother, why veiled Thy face,
Why Fears in dust me throw ?
I know all comes from Thee—so best,
And yet my stricken heart !
I see but horrors on Future's lap,
Tho' Future's-Mother Thou art,
A thousand years to Thee but trice,
Years sit upon Thy knee ;
All years and I by Thee are fed,
The years are one with me.
Then why this fear for what's to come,
Then why this stricken heart ?
Of all that breeds this killing fear
The mother-love Thou art,
I fear to break the law that's love
And Fears lie dead—below, above.

II.

Let all be to my mind
As light is to the blind !
O Love, alone Thou be
The light of joy to me.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

MAGIC DRUMS

"Flute-songs flutter and a din of magic drums."

The above is a quotation from a Chinese poem—"The Dancers of Huai-Nan,"[1] a beautiful poem, exotically descriptive, conjuring up vivid mental pictures. It is labelled "a fragment," and such indeed it is; a fragment of priceless porcelain chipped from off a dragon-scaled bowl. We see the wine-soothed spectators settling into a state of anticipatory and lethargic pleasure; the musicians tuning up; the glow of the setting sun gilding the luxurious scene; and, finally, the dancers themselves, lovely girls.

...."Well painted and apparelled,
In veils of soft gossamer
All wound and meshed ;..."

They are marshalled into position apparently by the drummer-in-chief and their voices rise in sweet chorus

"As a frightened bird whose love
Has wandered away from the nest,
I flutter my desolate wings,
For the wind blows back to my home,
And I long for my father's house."

Swaying, languorous, in postured ease, they charm the eyes of their beholders, till a faint flush, like bloom upon a peach, tinges their powdered cheeks and mounts towards their long dark eyes. Jewelled hair ornaments fall tinkling to the ground, their ebon hair itself has broken free of combs, their peacock-hued robes trail in a gay abandon. Fair, frail butterflies, winging through life in the sunshine of approving glances. And

..."Flute-songs flutter and a din of magic drums."...

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[1] Chang Heng : Waley.

What is the strange suggestion that the drums convey, the subtle secret of their insistent throbbing ? They lack all the cadenced scope of a violin, all the melodic sweetness of a flute, all the deem sonority of an organ. Yet they stir the soul to its very depths, waken the heart to an excited ecstasy, arouse the mind to endless possibilities of hidden thought, and set the world a-dancing to their metronomic beats. Magic! The magic of insistency! Constant reiteration can turn a man into a raving lunatic. Constant nagging on the part of a woman can reduce a man to despair. So it is with drums. Xantippean persistence will result in boredom, but an occasional tattoo will stir the pulses to a feeling of stimulated responsiveness. The throbbing of drums is as the pulsing heart-beat of the world. Travel for a moment with Domini Enfilden, the creation of Robert Hichens, the woman who took her unawakened soul to the desert and there found—life.

..." The salt crystals sparkled to her eyes, and the palms swayed languidly above the waters, and the rose and mauve of the hills, the red and orange of the earth, streamed by in flames of the sun before the passing train, like a barbaric procession, to the sound of the hidden drums, the cry of the hidden priest, and all the whispering melodies of these strange and unknown lives..."[1] Can you hear it, that " sound of hidden drums," that element of the unknown, that submerged force that is the power of the Past ? The message-drums beating forth in tune with the African night, the fife-accompanied drums of Scotland timed to the swish of a thousand kilts ; the muffled roar that speaks of human impotence when King Death claims a soldier ; the distant drums of Indian village life. Can you hear it as did Laurence Hope's Zahir-u-Din ?

" From some near Village I can hear
The cadenced throbbing of a drum,
Now softly distant, now more near ;

---

[1] Garden of Allah, Hichens.

And in an almost human fashion
It plaintive, wistful, seems to come
Laden with sighs of fitful passion."

Small boys love drums. Small boys love anything that makes a noise, and possibly their liking for drums corresponds with this clamorous taste. There is a martial element in their sounding that appeals to the juvenile ambition for warlike distinction.

" The drums of war, the drums of peace,
Roll through our cities without cease..." [1]

and rolling, impel the sauntering pedestrian to square his shoulders, quicken his steps and keep time, despite any volition to the contrary. Magic ? Of course there is magic in it. The magic of sound re-acting upon the nervous forces of the human system, the power of sound compelling human attention, the waves of sound rippling upon the sands of human responsiveness. Resist it who can. "*Where drums speak, laws are dumb,*" says an old French proverb. Where drums call, men will respond. They are the ribbons in the cap of the world's recruiting sergeant. They are paradoxical in that, being monotonous, they have yet many voices. Environment and atmosphere re-act chameleon-like, upon their sensitiveness. Hear them at night, they are weird, barbaric, fearsome. Hear them in the daytime, they are stirring, jovial, inspiring. When war breaks out they seem to mock the agonies of female hearts as they throb in time with the tramp of patriot-feet. When war is ended, how they speak of peace, triumphant "when Johnny comes marching home again," and they take their honoured place in a scheme of flags and bunting and a people run mad of a joy tempered by the thought of those who will never return. Then, when excitement subsides, and normality reigns once more 'tis

" Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife..." [2]

[1] Robert Louis Stevenson.

[2] Othello.

but " farewell " temporarily, till a bunch of young manhood in the shape of Boy Scouts, or a Sunday march-past of the Boy's Brigade revives memories that have never really died but have been lulled into coma by the drug of Peace. The message of the drums forbids the fading of memories. It is a message of history, of cosmopolitan comprehensiveness, of universality linked with patriotism and giving birth to valour.

> " What harmony of bells and drums !
> What call of drums and bells !
> Beyond the flaming water comes,
> What sound of happy spells.
> The blind musicians blind us with delight ;
> While the deep lizard drums roll on till night."

Thus Confucius, and he but voices the sentiments of the multitude, for who can deny the " happy spells " of drums, who can resist their magic, who is there that is not impelled towards quixotic attainment by the power of their abstract persistence ?

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

LAW AND LOGIC[1]

In my previous address on the relation of Law and Truth, I argued that Law is not the expression of the arbitrary will and caprices of a despot ; that it is indissolubly bound up with the drama of social life as swayed and shaped by its purposes ; that a rule of law formulated, whether by the Judicial or the Legislative organ of the community, is true in so far only as it is able to reflect the *mores* of the day and regulate the life-processes of the community in accordance therewith ; that discovery of this living, stirring, energising truth in this its philosophic sense, and more obviously still in what I have called the lower and accessory plane of investigation of disputed facts and events, is the business of Law, as indeed it is the business of every other allied social science, each in its appropriate sphere.

Law so viewed is thus a fragment or skein of social life, but is more than merely such a fragment, for it is a fragment of what that social life is made to be by the human mind working upon and in it. It has been said of Whistler, the painter, whose mixture of colours was a marvel to beholders, that when a society lady asked him *how* he mixed his colours, he replied : " With brains, Madam ! " This, I affirm, is a truer observation to make in regard to Law than even in regard to Painting. Law discovers its truths, in either of the two planes I have mentioned, by active cerebration—by *Thinking*.

And the thinking that Law does has, I say, never been a simple strainless semi-conscious process, from the earliest stages of legal history. *The striving after the right rule of action and the real truth of a dispute must have a travail of the mind even in the pre-history of Law.*[2] It is, in any event, demonstrably false history to imagine that the ordeal and analogous legal processes of archaic times were blind trustful appeals to Providence. That is an attitude of mind belonging to very sophisticated individuals of very sophisticated ages. The Court of the Moot, we know, really passed its judgment upon the evidence and probabilities of the case when it *first* determined which of the contending parties should be made to produce oath-helpers or undergo the ordeal. For the law itself, appeal was made to the wise and the most knowing. There has been and there will always be much groping in the dark and many errors. But the community which surrenders its judgment or is afraid of committing errors courts death. The thinking which Law is called upon to do at the present day is indubitably very hard and complicated thinking, and those in my audience who have anything to do with the making of the law or its application whether as Legislator, Judge or Legal Practitioner will bear me out that it may also be very worried and wearied thinking. No occupation in the world honestly performed, is a sorer tax upon and a severer trial to the brains than one that has to do with law. It will indeed not be wrong to affirm that whilst it may be possible once in a while for Law to be entirely dissociated from Truth, it can never be dissociated from thinking. Law may, in a fit of agnosticism, disown Metaphysics. A gust of romanticism may lead it as it has time and again led Literature to deny all allegiance to Ethics (a topic I reserve for future consideration). But it cannot deny Logic without denying its claim to be a science, without denying *itself*, in fact.

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[1] Readership Lecture, Dacca University.

[2] Maine's writings have (contrary, it seems, to his own intentions) created in the minds of some of his followers the notion that this growth of law in its earliest stages was unintelligent, haphazard. Lamb's essay on " The Origin of the Roast Pig " appears to me to furnish the best parody of this school of thought, written though it was fifty years before

Law then must be as much beholden to Logic, constructive as well as ratiocinative, deductive and inductive, as any other

the birth of this school. Maine has effectively demolished Rousseau's "noble savage," but his followers have set up in his place a brute, half man half beast, who is the plaything of all irrational impulses and superstitions. Anthropological data appear to support neither hypothesis. I prefer Ray Lankester's "Nature's insurgent son" as a fitter description of the primitive man than either. I would, for myself, hesitate to pit my sophisticated intelligence against this superior natural intelligence of the savage who made the first fire, fashioned the first stone arrow-head or built the first pile-dwelling.

science. I have argued that *it is the business of Law, as it is of every other science, to collect data and discover uniformities, to observe and generalise, and to generalise to the end that new cases as they arise may, if possible, be subsumed under established norms and categories.* And yet, so late as Anno Domini 1901 (just when the writer was about essaying his fledgeling flights in the horizon of Law and Legal literature) Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor of England, from his place on the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords, in the now famous case of *Quinn* v. *Leathem* (1902) A. C. 495 bluntly denied that Law is obliged to be logical, and this pronouncement has passed into the common currency of lawyers in the now familiar catchphrase " Law is not Logic."

There is a very obvious sense in which Law is not Logic. Nobody affirms or can affirm that the two sciences, Law and Logic, are identical, nor did Lord Halsbury say it. What Lord Halsbury said and meant to say was that Law owes no kind of allegiance to Logic, or at any rate that Law is free to disregard Logic whenever it may please Law to do so.

To call for pronouncement of such momentous import, the occasion, it may be supposed, must have been exceptional. The case of *Quinn* v. *Leathem,* did in fact mark the turning point in England in the relations between Employers and Employees, relationis which had been already undergoing fundamental changes during the preceding half century—relations upon which, as upon a pvot, the disturbed social equilibrium of the present day must, if at all, find its fixed equipoise. The history of this movement apart from its intrinsic intent is so instructive in relation to the subject of the present address, and generally for the purpose of illustrating the true nature of the Court's functions as an organ of law-making, that it would be necessary to give here a brief sketch of this history, even if Lord Halsbury's startling *dictum* had never been delivered.

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the growth and culmination in England of the new Industrialism which made the growing power of Industrial capatalism[1] a partner with the landed aristocracy as the ruling authority in England. The new power was not slow in discerning from which direction its recently acquired social supremacy stood in danger of attack. It accordingly strained every nerve to prevent Labour from organising its atomic forces (hitherto at the Employer's mercy because unorganised) by severely penalising every combination of Labour. Labour and its sympathisers also were by no means idle. For several decades the issue remained undecided, but in 1875, Labour was able to register its first decisive victory in a law of that year which definitely enacted that an agreement or combination of two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute should not be indictable as a conspiracy if such act done by one person would not be punishable as crime, the Act at the same time repealing all the old Statutory law (from the Statute of Labourers downwards) making breaches of contract criminal. What was more, the Statute recognised the legality of "peaceful picketing," directed towards waverers and black-legs, without which a strike, the only weapon (short of sabotage) of the employees against their employers would fall harmless. From this date the venue of the struggle changed from the Commons' House to the Law Courts. The old legislation being out of the way, what, under this new charter of working men's liberties, were the legal limits of the Workers' powers, by means of organised besetting (laying siege, so to speak), to bring their so long all powerful employers to terms ? Did it authorise Employees' Unions with impunity to procure breaches of subsisting contracts of employment on the part of the employees of a recalcitrant industrial concern? Relying on a precedent bearing upon a breach which had been procured in that case of a contract of employment between a singer and an opera impresario the Courts held that this constituted an actionable wrong and those who combined for such a purpose, and succeeded, were answerable in damages for civil conspiracy. The question in *Quinn* v. *Leathem* was whether a combination *preventing* intending employees and customers from entering into *new* contracts with the employer (a different thing from procuring breaches of subsisting contracts) constituted an actionable civil conspiracy. In the records of decisions in previous cases, there were *dicta* both ways, but the prevailing note was in favour of the view that such action, whatever the motive, was no more a civil wrong than it was a crime and therefore not actionable as such. But the Judges could not shut their eyes on the possibility of the law so formulated leaving it open to the employees, without a shadow of provocation or justification in the conduct of the employer, to organise a boycott of such severity and magnitude as virtually to amount to a denial of his ordinary civic amenities and privileges—a practice be it noted which, however infantine in England, has been old as the hills in India. Should they, the House of Lords, the highest tribunal of the Empire, set their seal of approval to a doctrine so apparently subversive of social justice as they understood it ?

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[1] I consider the Industrial Revolution (as it has been called) a more important movement than the French Revolution, though the latter occupies more space in history books than the former. The French Revolution is a product, a breaking on the shores, so to speak, of waves started by the Renaissance. In the Industrial Revolution, we have the waves themselves of a fundamentally more powerful and revolutionary movement, the product of which we can only dimly surmise.

But suppose the House of Lords had already solemnly after due consideration (though without full comprehension, it may be, of its extreme logical implications) laid it down that such action was not only not wrong but within the legitimate limits of people's *free* action as members of a *free* community ? The problem was not made the easier of solution because it was seen that the law so laid down had been laid down with reference to the action of a ring of *employers*, which *inter alia* had threatened with dismissal agents of members of the ring, should they act for rivals whom the ring had combined to underbid and under-sell? (*Moghul Steamship Co.* v. *McGregor,* 1892 A.C. 25).

Lord Halsbury's colleagues in the case did not deny the logic of the matter nor their obligation to carry that logic to its consequences if there were no justification for taking a different course. They sought in the particular facts of the case circumstances which would justify their placing the whole case in a new category or norm. They wanted to lay down in view of these facts a new rule of law in consonance with their sense of social justice in this its latest and most informed phase. This, I shall submit, *was a perfectly legitimate exercise of the Court's function to mould the law according to the progressively understood (or discovered) needs of social justice.* It is, I affirm, *the undoubted prerogative of the Courts to pioneer and prospect in uncharted regions of social conduct—regions unknown to and undreamed of by the Legislative organ of the State.* .

Lord Halsbury, however, as I have said, took up the extreme position of denying that any decision of any Court had any persuasive force whatever for him or any other Judge in any but that rarest of contingencies, *viz.*, actual identity of circumstances. His Lordship developed his argument in the following words :—

"Every judgment must be read as applicable to particular facts proved or assumed to be proved, since the generality of the expressions which may be found there are not intended to be expositions of the whole law, but governed and qualified by the particular facts of the case in which such expressions are to be found." "A case" (he went on to add) "is only authority for what it decides. I entirely deny that it can be quoted for a proposition that may seem to follow logically from it."

It is possible that by ringing changes in the language used, the words quoted may be made to be consistent with what I have pointed at as the true relation between Law and Logic. But the only meaning that can be placed on the language as a whole is to say that no principle of law laid down in a case is to be used as a precedent unless the facts of the later case are, as we lawyers say, " on all fours " with the previous case. To say this is, I submit, to strike all precedents with sterility. And, if a precedent is not to be quoted for what logically follows from it what is its value at all as a contribution to the law of the land ? Accept the position as thus laid down by Lord Halsbury, and at one stroke you deprive the Superior Courts of Law of that position of eminence and authority which they hold in the constitutional system of the British Empire and reduce them to the impotence and insignificance of French Courts.

I cannot help feeling that in the passages quoted Lord Halsbury seriously misconceived the purpose and function of precedents in the English legal system, if he really meant what he said. I respect the hesitation which Judges of Superior Courts in England have habitually expressed whenever they have been invited to overrule or dissent from the law laid down by a co-ordinate or superior authority for the decision of a point which actually arose for decision in a previous case and which therefore cannot be dismissed as mere *obiter dictum.* This attitude is essential to the rational and orderly development of law as a perennially beneficent social force. A wilderness of single instances would be as inevitably relegated to the dust heap as any other dead refuse. If judicial ingenuity is not to lose itself in by-paths of fads and fancies, if law is to grow up coherently, intelligently and purposively, its artificers must not feel free to fashion it as they list from day to day, without a thought of what was done the day before, to suit individual tastes, bents, whims, caprices and prejudices. The force of precedents is the foundation of the Common Law of England and the one indispensable buttress on which depends the Rule of Law which is the proud inheritance of the English nation ; and it is a singular irony of circumstances that the solitary judicial utterance that has directly challenged the very existence of this force should have proceeded from one who lived to edit that remarkable statement of the whole law of England, the 28 volumes of *Laws of England,* nine-tenths of which is case law.

It is true that law must change, and so must Society or both will stagnate and perish. And the change must be constant, anabolic at one end and catabolic at the other. But through it all, there must run a relatively more stable element. Three-fourths of life, if not more, it should always be remembered, function as machinery. I realise the danger of riding a biological analogy to death. Let it be recognised, once for all, that a time comes in the life of a community, not once only but often, when what appears to be this stable element must itself submit to be scrapped or reorganised, all at one stroke, and without waiting upon the slow action of metabolism and time. I cannot very well conceive of the Courts of law taking up this job of re-building up from the grounds upon themselves. That is a function for which the Legislative Organ of the State is peculiarly adapted. But on all ordinary occasions and for all ordinary purposes precedents must be respected, and this not by the law Courts only but by the Legislature as well. But because precedents are to be respected, it does not follow that they are to command unquestioned obedience from either the Courts or the Legislature, be the occasion ordinary or extraordinary.

It is the characteristic infirmity of the human intellect that in its strivings towards the general, which is the law of its being, it never is able to reach the universal and the absolute. Every general proposition is an approximation to truth and often an exceedingly sorry one at that. Every such approximation has its value, as a haulting stage or as a sign-post, but no more. The fault of law, which other sciences share with it, has been that it has often mistaken its approximations for the absolute, and as often failed to realise the obviously tentative character of its generalisations even when theoretically cognisant of their relativity.

Lord Halsbury's *dictum* does not appear to have met with false appraisement in England where the business of valuing precedents is well understood. [*Vide Kregliager* v. *New Patagonian Meat and Cold Storage Co.* (1904) A. C. 25.] I have been greatly amused, however, to observe the respect with which (contrary apparently to its own express injunction) this dictum has been received in India. What is easier than to dismiss a troublesome precedent by saying "Law is not Logic," and "the facts are not on all fours." No man, says the physiologist, is himself for even two consecutive minutes, and cases must differ at least in the names the parties bear. To have to enter into the spirit of a rule of law laid down in a considered judgment and then to proceed to restrict its excessive generality by the proper qualification, it must be granted, does require industry and intelligence of a very superior order. It must be conceded also that every judgment that is reported—and their number in India is legion—does not deserve to be treated as precedent. Again nothing is more trying than the habit some practitioners easily slide into of citing precedents which have no clear relevance to the case, merely as jumping off places for arguments which profit neither the parties nor the judge. But to dismiss a decision from consideration, though otherwise apposite, by merely saying that it is "not on all fours" is only a shade less straightforward than disregarding a judgment the authenticity of which is not in question, simply because it did not appear in an "authorised" report.

And yet I agree that "Law is not Logic." No more is Physics, Geology or Psychology, nor any other science that one may mention. The "thought-stuff" as distinguished from the "Thinking," the material of a science, the basic data, are not for Logic to supply. They must be the individual Science's very own contribution, derived by it from its special field of observation and experience. Logic is no substitute for the telescope, the microscope, the Spectroscope, the probe or the scalpel. For its data, a science depends upon its trained perception, aided or unaided by mechanical contrivances, its intuitions, and let us add, its imaginations. It must even develop a special technique for these purposes. But at no step in the process can it do without Logic. Logic must always be at its elbow or disaster will as surely overtake the savant as it will the judge. If Logic is, as often it is, abused, it is the Judge or the Savant who is at fault, not Logic. *Logic is the sapper and miner of the Expedition.* He will build roads and trenches to order, establish communications, even erect observation posts to direct operations from, but he cannot take command himself. The commander must know how to use him, but he must beware of putting him in command. The Savant or the Judge will fail who discards Logic. But he will be that greatest of failures, *a pedant,* should he give himself over, hand and foot, to Logic. I deny that law is in any special sense the handmaiden of Logic. I deny that Law is bound to be pedantic.

A great Judge and Jurist (a rare combination as yet) has said—and he has not only said it but has steadily and conscientiously acted up to it in a judicial career reaching now to close upon half a century, that "the Life of law is not Logic, it is Experience." But that is not to deny Law's dependence on Logic. The last half century has seen no keener dialectician on the judicial Bench than Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. But his judgments have never been exercises in empty dialectics. They are instinct with the juice of life and pulsate as life itself. His logic does not spin out vain syllogisms. The life of law is, if anything, pragmatic, not ratiocinative. Logic is its highway. An outworn generalisation has to be discarded because it is outworn and not because law is not logic. Logic cannot supply the defects of perception and observation, of faulty generalisation, false analogies and wrong assumptions. It is only too true that precedents have often been allowed to run away with judgment in England as well as in India, and that by no means in the field of law alone. Was it Logic or paralysis of judgment that prevented parents in England until the Legislature intervened to inherit their deceased children's real estate. because forsooth water cannot flow upwards? How fruitful of tares has been the supposed injunction of Hindu Law that the adopted son should be "the image of a son"! The *scintilla Quies*, the centre of attraction of many generations of legal moths had to be solemnly extinguished by Act of Parliament after discovery made by it that it never existed! We become victims of our own language and call it Logic. There have been times, if the truth must be told, when the only escape from a stupid reasoning or a dead precedent seemed to lie in oblivion or ignorance, or failing ignorance, in a deliberate holding of the telescope to the observer's blind eye, a proceeding which (*pace* Lord Halsbury) was hardly called for in *Quinn* v. *Leathem*. In ages when Law had been dominated by Logic, "Ignorance," as Justice Holmes has acutely observed, "was the best of law reformers." But it is so very much more difficult in these days of multitudinous instructors in the shape of prints and reports, to be ignorant than to be knowing! The judge certainly, of all persons, is not suffered to be ignorant, though ignorance may be bliss to himself and a blessing to others, and that is the last observation I need make to-day upon the **value of precedents.**

N. N. GHOSH

WARRING MANKIND

What is this war that speaks in the language of human blood, of terrific human suffering? What is this strange destiny that appoints us our own enemies? How amazing, when we think of it, looks this war that from time to time so imperiously calls mankind to dance to its fatal song!

It is when a war begins that judgment flies to beasts and men forget their reason. That is why they little know what they do when they go to war. Nations go to war just because they do not know what the game means. It is a repeating insanity, an epidemic madness, this amiable affair we call war, and the ashes of the many millions of its victims lying in the trail of uncounted years might do less than warn mankind against the great infection it bears in its bosom. It is suicide that it shelters there; it is the hell-egg of destruction that lies ambushed within the heart of man. The sisterly charities, the brotherly benevolences that so happily often drape human life cannot reach the ultimate sources of conduct so long as this little egg remains safely settled there.

Human life on this planet has been beset with many great perils but greater peril there perhaps was none than war for which man has himself to thank. Whatever be the circumstances, war is so obviously unjustifiable that its justice has always been taken for granted. Life is a boon, an unmatched experience, the visible fragrance, that rises from invisible, mysterious forces. But how can we justify the deliberate affliction of this life with the deadliest fever on earth, the handing over of this life to the most destructive agency that we can think of? How can men sit still when life, the gift of grace 'passing surmisal,' lies unguarded for war, the savage thief, to steal? If war is necessary mankind is a superfluous thing, a little living error on the blackboard of the bitter immensity of space to be wiped out. If war is inevitable the human race must certainly be a slip of the Creator's pen with whose magic products He ever strives to people the overwhelming emptiness of the Universe. Yes, if war, howsoever seemingly just, is right, mankind, howsoever seemingly perfect, is wrong, for war derives its sanction from the idea that human beings may be nipped in the bud and made into a garland for Death.

Happily the taint of such a theory has never stained the higher impulses of men. Man's conscience has now most emphatically condemned war and yet an arrest of judgment has been, as it were, granted it. Men have decided to exile war but have not yet exiled it. It is mankind that still remains exiled from its elementary right to live at peace with itself, and mankind must remain thus exiled as long as the idea of war is allowed to mingle with the major forces of collective or international human conduct. Aided by his intelligence, which in its sweep is illimitable, man has immensely increased his intimacy with Nature and has now gained some of her greatest resources for his use. But how often he renders these very resources, won with infinite toil and patience, to an avenging soldier of fortune to let him use them against himself. Mankind seems to have been devilling for War.

Are we still to cherish the atavistic instinct of brother-slaughter?

The question would seem to be hardly necessary when, as a good many omens tell us, mankind has at last awakened to the urgent need of putting an end to war. To-day, indeed, we seem to hear the singing of some noble airs in the great chancelleries of the nations. We seem to see some of mankind's leaders sincerely striving to blow out the war-flame once for all. A new and strenuous impatience with the guns seems to be discernible among a considerable number of such as guide the destinies of peoples.

There is boundless comfort in the thought that man no longer wishes to let his guns speak for him, to make blood and iron the ultimate arbiter of his differences with himself. But at the same time we need to recall that modern man seldom enters on any war for love of war. Man has nearly always been dragged into it, has nearly always been a helpless captive thrown into the boiling cauldron. Whenever he went to war he has nearly always said that it was inevitable. He has nearly always wept over the heaps of the dead. Looking at the sight he has often sincerely exclaimed, " This must stop ! "

Take the last war itself, that changed the smiling face of Europe into a piteous picture of gloom. When it was raging it was said that it was a war to end war. It might have been so thought and sincerely so believed. We now know that it proved nothing of the sort. Each nation that offered in those dismal days the flower of its youth to stay ' the last hunger ' of the war-deity is anxious to-day to show that its hands were clean, that it had nothing to do with the beginning of the glorious affair. To-day each nation looks at some other whom it fancies to have been the ' bad fellow.' None has yet come forth saying, " It's me!" The plain people whose share in the management of the world is to look on and wipe their eyes often think that it was a joint little enterprise. It fills one's heart with unutterable sadness that this ancient race of men is thus made over from time to time to the thirsting spirit of organized destruction.

If we cannot understand the earth's cruel primitive races it is because our saving self-delusion has almost robbed us of sight and we are not able always to see ourselves. The ' civilized ' nations kill themselves not in the old-fashioned way, which strictly limited the number that might be killed. These pioneers of progress kill themselves and countless others not so ' civilized ' by flaming shell and boiling fire, by deadly weapons that kill by the hundred thousand, kill scientifically, kill not even to conquer, kill because they *really* do not know why. There is no lack of soothing phrases filled with noble sentiments to hang a comforting mist before the vision. That mist only makes them blind to the true nature of the work they do. And when at last the killing stops because of the sheer fatigue that comes over the killers, the dark shadow of a coming killing presently appears on the sky. That is the usual cloud 'no bigger than a man's hand ' which without even taking a little time to grow to respectable proportions suddenly swallows the heavens and with it the judgment of men. The solid darkness descends on the earth and men go mad. It is war! It is the cutting down of the tender shoots from the tree of life. What do people want to fight for? Why did the nations of Europe suddenly begin clutching each other in fatal embrace in 1914 ? Where did their wisdom go ? Can there be a greater reproach to the sanity of human conduct than the great catastrophe that overtook it in that fateful August ? But time will soothe the pang and make the memory fade, and when that little cloud appears again in the sky, as it will do unless nations sincerely and immediately want to prevent it, a storm will sweep the earth blowing off large masses of mankind with it. What avail the belated bewailings ? These have little power even to delay repetition. Look at the thing carefully, and it will be seen that the essential of insanity runs in the blood of man and that a habit of killing has been fostered by him for long. Time and again this habit has shown its power to get the better of him. Unless he means to turn the earth to one huge lethal-chamber he must face the fact and try and devise some sure means of overcoming it.

Consider the story of the past. The habit, it is easy enough to see, first asserted itself in the home. One began by killing his brother. When the home became subject to some degree of mutual affection we began to sharpen our knives to cut our neighbour's throat. When the feelings that, however feebly, bound the members of the family in one common experience and in one common hope, began to overflow to the next door we became a close corporation of parochial people in perpetual conflict with the people across the 'frontier.' When after a time, a long time indeed, of frequent and fierce contentions with the dwellers of 'the next district' men came to divide themselves into larger groups known as nations they fancied themselves to have arrived in a new heaven and a new earth. But soon the fighting fiend came forth from its secret lair somewhere within man's heart and warring nations began to fill the earth with their fierce passions and 'just' purposes. And to-day these nations oppress and kill themselves and humanity with their egoistic humanitarianisms.

In this triumphal progress of the killing instinct from the home to the nation the curious and excruciatingly saddening thing is that it never really forsook the home or any one of the intermediate places at which it halted. Because men are still, to a greater or lesser degree, bellicose also within the family, the neighbourhood, the province and the country. In reality, therefore, the *war-instinct,* far from diminishing its original dominion, has to-day made the home of mankind its home, from the little household to the vast spaces of the inhabited earth. In fact it has become humanity's housekeeper, and working for nothing eats up the inmates whenever it can get 'the elder members' to forget their trust. And to-day the face of mankind looks almost like the face of one that is blind and anxious. That victorious instinct is in front of it like a grim living wall.

In humanity the individual is everything. In him the evil works hidden, mysterious, pestilential. It is not merely in killing that the abovementioned imperious instinct appears. It is all along the line in man's dealings with man. It is an all-world, all-powerful competition that to-day holds mankind in sinister sway.

Everywhere, man's ambition is to rear his head above his fellows. He has not learned that he can neither stand nor fall alone. He has been perplexed by the great outward contradiction between individual and general welfare, and in his perplexity, blinding, foreboding and tumultuous, he has chosen to put himself before all the other guests at life's inscrutable banquet. He has not learnt that he cannot alone eat at the feast leaving the others in the cold. He has not learnt that while millions are left to go without enough food a few cannot live on the fat of the land.

The organization of society which leads to the increasing accumulation of wealth in a few hands and to the increasing attenuation of the vast many is, there is little doubt, one of the prime causes of the many-sided conflict among men. Such false organization must persist as long as we do not realise that in the long run personal aggrandisement must prove the enemy of personal happiness. Socialism in several of its extreme aspects may be some way from practicable, but a more just distribution of the good things of the world is unavoidable, if war must cease and if nations must look on each other with friendly eyes. They have named the races of mankind after the colour of their skin, and this thing belonging to the outermost surface of life has to-day become an obsession of evil with several powerful nations. The war of the nations bids fair to become the wider and more destructive war of continents and coloured peoples. This emergence of colour into acute prominence in world-politics is at once a symbol of the prevailing superficial study of life and an effect of the rule of the competition-devil, to whom the 'civilized' peoples have allowed themselves to be sold. It is because they are perhaps unwilling to see life in any of its higher possibilities that they have not known that life can be other than the misery, the jealousy and the suffering it so largely is to-day. If a prophet came their way and said the truth they got their quittance from him by accepting him but rejecting his message. Competition is, in fact, ruling the world and compelling humanity's living allegiance.

Is it then beyond remedy, this personal, communal, national and racial competition, this terrific attenuation of the human race? There is the League of Nations, but if it would succeed it can do so only through a sublimated war. If the League wields sufficient sanction to stop a people marching to the battle-field it will have made itself a worthy association of political physicians to reduce the periodical mortality. It must be a provisional war to the end that war may be really and truly ended. It must be there ever 'warring,' must be ever more powerful than the combined power of its enemies to hold in check that tiny but tremendous instinct that from the first men and women has been troubling the human race. Good luck to the League, a high-intentioned experiment in the use of a political pharmacopœa to arrest the progress of a grave political disease.

But it is only a rational reorganization of society that can bring lasting peace, peace from which the idea of war and the idea of intimidation are absent. It is the education of the individual heart that would help man to discover himself, the greatest discovery that still awaits his best efforts. It is the provision of sufficient food to all of mankind's children that would soonest make them friends and brothers, that would lead them to love each other for whatever is good in them, to aid each other to overcome whatever is evil in them. It is the scientific reconstruction of material life, the moral rehabilitation of spiritual life that now calls the wise to action. Will the adventurous few great of every country hearken to this highest call? The trumpet blows and the whisper of a great dream falls even on ordinary ears. Will each hearken to it in his measure?

N. K. VENKATESWARAN

ORGANISATION OF THE COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT (RATES AND DEVELOPMENT) AND OF THE GOODS AND COACHING DEPARTMENT OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

A great deal has, during recent years, been done in reorganising the Operative and Transportation Department of Indian Railways on a sound basis, with a view to increase the capacity of the existing railways, to ensure efficiency and to introduce economy in the working of the Indian Railways, and the time has now come when the business department of the railways ought to receive that attention which it demands in the interests of the development of railway traffic, which is again bound up with the development of India's trade, industries and agriculture. The welfare of the railways is so very largely dependent on the welfare of the trade, industries and agriculture of the country that the railways must in their own interests do their best to serve the aforesaid three interests best. The first action to be taken, therefore, is to have a proper organisation which will secure this object ; and the aim of this article is to discuss all the issues connected with this subject. For this purpose it has been considered best to select a railway which undoubtedly demands such an organisation and the example of which can be followed by other similarly important railways. And, therefore, for purposes of this discussion the organisation of the East Indian Railway has been dealt with in this article.

2. The fact that the Capital at charge of the East Indian Railway amounts to nearly 134¾ crores of rupees and that the nett earnings vary between 7 and 8 crores of rupees (which makes this Railway the greatest contributor both to the Railway revenues, and thus partly also to the General revenues of the

Government) may afford an impression that the Railway is at the height of its development and that nothing further could be done to stimulate its traffic and earnings, but the mere fact that the dividend paid by the East Indian Railway went down by 1% in 1926-27 and that the Capital expenditure went up by 5½ crores of rupees in one year (partly on new constructions) would alone tend to correct such an impression.

3. Moreover, when it is remembered that the Railway passes through fertile lands, traverses areas which are populous, touches important towns and places of pilgrimage in Northern India, and that inspite of these facts and comparatively low working expenses the percentage of nett return on Capital outlay over the East Indian Railway amounted to less than 6%, against 7% in the case of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, there can no longer remain any doubt as to the ability of the East Indian Railway to progress further with the development of its traffic. The East Indian Railway's capital expenditure is high, which requires a large nett revenue, but the E. I. Railway Goods traffic consists principally of Coal and of Grain and Oil-seeds, the former requiring very low and the latter two also fairly low rates of carriage. Therefore, unlike the G. I. P. Railway or the B. B. and C. I. Railway, whose mainstay is cotton traffic, or unlike the E. B. Railway whose principal traffic is Jute, both of which commodities are capable of bearing comparatively high rates, the prosperity of the E. I. Railway is dependent on its securing a far larger volume of low-priced goods at low rates than would have been required if commodities of a more valuable nature had comprised its principal items of traffic. Finally, long stretches of Coal and other lines are still being added to the E. I. Railway from year to year, which mean additional capital expenditure, on which it is but fair that the nett return should be reasonable, and this can only be attained by steady development of traffic.

4. To ensure that the factor of development will receive proper attention, the first essential is that a Railway's Rates and

Development department should be properly equipped and allowed adequate scope to pursue a bold and enterprising policy.

5. The mainstay of a railway, or of any business concern, are the operating and the business departments. In ordinary commercial and industrial concerns the business manager occupies a very important position, and since a Railway is a business concern its business department should be strongly constituted, combining good organisation with an adequate staff of capable and experienced men, who should be given full scope for their energies.

6. The present commercial department of the East Indian Railway, however, which was re-organised at a time when commercial problems were considered secondary to transportation problems, has combined, with the functions of its business department or, in other words, with the work of the Rates and Development departments, the conduct of enquiries into cases involving loss, damage and pilferage of goods, parcels and luggage traffic, the settlement of claims for compensation and of refunds of goods and coaching freight overcharges and adjustment of station accounts, etc. Moreover, the Head of the Commercial Department on the E. I. Railway is not always a Rates expert, thereby implying that sound experience and expert knowledge of railway rates work in a Chief Commercial Manager is treated as a secondary consideration. In every other department the administrative Head is an expert in his own business, *e.g.*, the Chief Civil Engineer, the Chief Mechanical Engineer, the Chief Auditor, the Chief Accountant, the Chief Electrical Engineer, while the Head of the Transportation or Operative Department is a person who has had considerable training and experience in transportation work, but the chief of the Department that fixes rates and fares and is responsible for the development of traffic, which are the business functions of a railway, would appear to be the one exception to the rule. It is essential that the Head of this Depart-

ment should also be an expert in the real business side of his activities, because on his exertions the prosperity of the Railway largely depends.

7. There was a time when the Heads of the Traffic Department of the more important Railways were first class Rates men who had made a very close study of rates work almost throughout their careers, such as the late Sir William Dring of the E. I. Railway, Mr. Alexander Muirhead of the O. and R., the S. M. and the G. I. P. Railways, Mr. William B. Wright of the Inland Midland Railway and the M. S. M. Railway, the late Mr. Neville Priestley, and the late Mr. O. Collaghan of the B. B. and C. I. Railway.

8. With the agricultural and industrial development of India requiring close attention and the growing necessity for the business development of railways, in order to earn reasonable dividends on the increasing capital outlay, the need for a strong and efficient Rates and Development Department will become steadily greater. *It is a misnomer to call a department, which under present conditions would appear to pay greater attention to settlement of claims and to enquiries relating to loss of and damage to goods, the Commercial Department of a Railway.* The two items of work, namely rates and claims, bear no relation to one another. In fact, the latter has more connection with the operative side of railway working than with the former.

9. The real commercial work of a Railway consists of soliciting for business, fixing rates and fares, developing new markets and new sources of supply, catering for the economic welfare of the country by suggesting and finding out ways of improving railway facilities, by judicious manipulation of rates and fares and by making the railway transport (*i.e.*, carriage) conditions conform to trade requirements. One complaint is that in their anxiety to improve wagon loads the Railways are inclined to insist on the adherence to loading and weight conditions which are sometimes totally unsuitable to

the nature of the traffic handled ; for instance shell-lac loaded in large volume in an iron wagon during hot weather and delayed in transit would be liable to serious damage, deterioration, etc. Similar remarks apply to mango traffic both by goods and parcels trains. The business of a Railway is to sell transportation, and in doing so, as far as possible the trade requirements of customers ought to be met. In all parts of the world the Railways conform their transport and carriage conditions to traffic and trade conditions, recognising that the railways are intended to serve the trade and not the trade to serve the railways. It must be remembered that railways are run to serve trade, which can only be attained by meeting trade requirements and that the railway lines are meant for running trains and thus for transporting traffic to the full capacity of the railway. And thus the railways are arteries for trade and industries. To the man who considers these interests secondary *to the running of trains with big loads only,* the object of a railway is lost. His zeal for big train-loads and wagon-loads may lead him sometimes even to sacrifice business. In certain cases (nay in many cases) it is all right and in others it is all wrong to pay too much attention to large weights per wagon mile. There was at one time (in my days) on railways an idea to insist on Grains and Seeds being booked in 30-ton lots, in order to secure good wagon loads and the result was much traffic was lost because at every station a merchant could not book 30 tons for one station and in one lot and at last 400 maunds load per wagon or per consignment was agreed upon, though at competitive zones special rates were and had to be allowed even for small lots. Thus a happy medium was found, which suited better than 30-ton lots per consignment,

10. It has been contended in certain quarters that State Railways of India are not wholly commercial concerns and should be treated as great Public Works. This is not

disputed but so long as the financial responsibility of the Government of India remains at its present high figure, and the interest on sterling loan alone remains at £4,408,627 per year (or nearly 6⅔ crores of rupees) with an operating ratio of 56%, while heavy sums are simultaneously required for Depreciation, Sinking and Reserve funds and for contribution to the General Revenues of the Government of India, it is imperative that the Indian State Railways should be run as commercial concerns. This is not only necessary to enable the Government to meet their financial obligations but also to enable them to repay debts and to render public service at as low a cost as possible compatible with a fair return on the Capital outlay, so as to be in a position to increase their contributions to the General Revenues of the Government of India, after meeting all liabilities and obligations, thereby helping towards advancement of the general good of the people.

11. Therefore, a Railway Commercial or Rates Manager must see that the markets upon which his railway is dependent for its traffic does not lose the trade so long as that trade can be handled with a margin of profit and that industries and agriculture along his line of railway are helped by the railway to expand to the fullest extent.

12. An American Railway authority sums up the whole thing in the following words :—

"The officials who are responsible for the creation and development of railway traffic must be sensitive to every wind that blows; they must know the tendencies of the trade as well as every merchant and manufacturer of importance along a railway and must stand ready to protect the business of the customers and of the railway itself."

13. The American Railways have from the very beginning recognised that the Traffic (or Commercial) department is as important as the Transportation (Operating) department. The solicitation of traffic and fixing of rates and fares are matters that directly affect the railway owners, and the very

existence of railways is dependent on the business that they can get, and the further prosperity of railroads is dependent to a large extent on the additional traffic that the commercial officers can develop. For this purpose, the American Railways have made the traffic department (which is their proper commercial department) solely responsible for rates and development work, and that responsibility is accounted for direct to the Board. On many Railways one of the Vice-Presidents is also the traffic commercial manager and devotes himself entirely to rates and development work.

14. As remarked in the beginning, in India, during later years, while the operative department of Railways has received a great deal of attention, the Rates and Development Department has been almost neglected in comparison and one of the chief reasons for this was that until a few years ago the railways had more traffic offered to them than they could actually carry. At no distant date, however, such a state of affairs will be past history because with increased facilities, more wagons and new railways, the railways will require extended traffic to distribute the operative expenses among a greater number of units, *i.e.*, over a larger amount of traffic. Additional traffic is also necessary to afford extra revenue to the railway and this can only be attained by clever and judicious manipulation of rates, which can only be done after exhaustive enquiries in the right directions and after a lot of information and statistics have been collected and examined intelligent canvassing is also essential.

15. The time has come when the needs (*a*) for agricultural and industrial development and (*b*) for expansion of local and foreign trade, make it necessary that the Rates and Development Department (that is the department of the business manager of the railway) should receive greater attention, but if the business manager is also responsible for investigation into cases of loss, pilferage and damage to goods and for the conduct of enquiries in connection therewith and if he is not

a Rates expert, the most important part of his duties (*viz.*, that of rates and development) must suffer. At the same time it must not be overlooked that the claims work is also heavy particularly when in addition to claims work the work of refunds of overcharges, adjustment of station account, etc., also requires due attention on the part of the chief commercial manager.

16. In the circumstances, it would appear necessary to consider the following proposals :—

(1) Whether or not the Chief who is responsible for claims work should also be responsible for rates work.

(2) Whether or not the claims work and the work connected with collection of revenue for goods and coaching traffic, and booking, way-billing, loading, tallying and of unloading, re-tallying and delivery of all traffic should be combined with claims work and placed under one man, who should be relieved of rates work and who may properly be called "Chief Goods and Coaching Manager," as distinct from the Chief Operating Superintendent and the Rates and Development Manager.

(3) Whether or not the Divisional Superintendents should undertake the settlement of claims, refunds of goods and coaching overcharges, adjustment of station accounts in addition to the goods and coaching work already performed by them.

17. For reasons already discussed in paras. 1 to 15, the necessity for separating claims from rates work would appear to be established, and in the interests of the proper development of railway business it seems essential that the rates department should be in charge of a separate chief, who is an acknowledged expert in his business, directly responsible to the Agent. This disposes of proposal No. 1. Proposal No. 3 would mean an enormous addition of work being thrown on to Divisional Superintendents and as they have already sufficient to do, proposal No. 2 appears to be the more practical. It is certainly the most logical for the following reasons.

18. The work of acceptance of goods, their correct marking, way-billing, loading, tallying and labelling, their proper and correct tallying while unloading, their delivery, the calculation and correct charging of freight, and the proper inspection of goods before acceptance, at unloading points and prior to delivery, are matters very intimately allied with claims work. All the procedure of acceptance, loading, unloading and delivery of goods is associated with the investigation of claims cases. Therefore, the department that deals with the claims is the proper authority for supervising these items of work because the results thereof are seen every day by the Claims Department. On the G. I. P. Railway this arrangement is still in force in spite of Divisional Operative Organisation—that Railway maintains Divisional Traffic Managers as well as Divisional Operative Superintendents.

19. By placing the foregoing work detailed in para. 18 as well as the claims work under a separate Head of Department, who may be called Chief Goods and Coaching Manager and relieving him entirely of rates work, better arrangement and supervision would be secured resulting in greater efficiency than at present. Above all, the public will have to deal with one department in all matters relating to detention, damage to or loss of traffic and on all matters connected with booking and delivery of traffic. •At present the public in such matters have sometimes to go to the Divisional Superintendent (Operative) and in other cases to the Chief Commercial Manager. It is a general complaint that the public do not always know now-a-days whom to refer to.

20. If the Chief Goods and Coaching Manager could secure the services of the present Commercial officers and inspecting staff attached to each Divisional Office, the proposal would probably not involve much additional expenditure. Such an organisation would ensure greater efficiency because the Divisional Commercial Officer would then be subject to supervision by an expert Chief Goods and Coaching Manager and

the Divisional Commercial Officers (or rather the Assistant Goods and Coaching Managers as they might then properly be called) could be utilised in connection with enquiries into and settlement of claims cases so that timely steps might be taken to prevent and avoid heavy claims and to test the claims. The Assistant Goods and Coaching Managers could also be accommodated in the Divisional Offices as at present and allowed to co-operate with Divisional Superintendents. Traffic Inspectors (or rather the Commercial Inspectors as they are now called), goods and coaching station accounts clerks and Claims Inspectors ought to be placed under the Assistant Goods and Coaching Managers in each Division.

21. Another very important factor cannot be overlooked in this connection. On neither the East Indian nor the North Western Railways (the organisation of these Railways is almost identical) the present "Commercial Department" has any control over the staff; whereas the Mechanical and Civil Engineering Departments have a great deal to say and do in connection with the appointment, training, promotion, and transfer of Mechanical and Civil Engineering staff (even in the case of those sent to the Operative Department), the Commercial Department has nothing whatsoever to do with the staff that do commercial work (*viz.*, who weigh, accept, label, book, way-bill, account for, re-weigh and deliver traffic). Although the work of the men, who are employed in the performance of these duties, come under direct scrutiny and notice of the Commercial Department in connection with the enquiries the Commercial Department constantly makes in regard to wrong weighment, wrong labelling, bad loading and unloading, rough handling, incorrect tallying, missending, wrong routing, under and over-charging, misdelivery and also in regard to loss of goods or in connection with pilferage or damage thereto, the Commercial Department has absolutely no powers to

punish or transfer, far less appoint, any member of the commercial staff on the line, with the result that the work of this Department is very seriously handicapped, for the staff would naturally pay very little deference to the orders of the C. C. M. The Goods and Coaching staff ought to be under the Chief Goods and Coaching Manager (proposed). This is most logical, and suitable to the conditions of working on big Indian Railways.

22. The presence of an official for claims and goods and coaching work on a Division, working in direct touch with the Head of the Goods and Coaching Department, would ensure prompt action in the case of heavy loss or damage, requiring immediate steps to prevent further damage, and proper supervision of work of Inspectors and others. For a start the Assistant Goods and Coaching Managers might not be allowed to pay claims, but after 12 months or so, they would be capable of being entrusted with the settlement of local claims up to Rs. 200 or thereabouts in each case in respect of traffic originating and terminating on the Division, at the outset, and on the Railway eventually (say after 1½ years, *i.e.*, eighteen months).

23. These officials of the proposed Goods and Coaching Department would be distinct from Rates Officers whose work is of an entirely different nature. Claims work is very closely related to the Goods and Coaching work of the operative Department, and requires Officers and men to be conversant with full details relative to the transport of goods and parcels in all stages, along with the qualifications of a Police Investigating Officer and some knowledge of law ; the Rates Officer, on the other hand, must be a business man with wide and expert knowledge of trade and commerce—in short, a student of Economics.

24. In America, it is said that rates work does not belong to the management but to the corporation. Even when, as on some American Railways, the settlement of claims is combined

with rates work, the former is considered of much smaller importance, and is usually entrusted to local freight claims agents—obviously claims on American Railways must be smaller. But the claims work in India is of sufficient importance to warrant a separate organisation, which could also profitably embrace other goods and coaching work, as already indicated, in the best interests of the Railways and the public.

25. As a separate and independent branch, the business of the Rates and Development branch could be conducted under its own Chief or Head of Department who should occupy the position not merely because of seniority of service but solely as a result of his undoubted talent and ability in this highly specialised form of work, though he might be a comparatively younger man.

26. The duties of the Rates and Development would be broadly speaking as follows :—

(*a*) Fixing of rates and fares and of rules and conditions relating thereto.

(*b*) The preparation and issue of all publications to the public—such as goods and coaching tariffs, guides, time-tables, publicity and propaganda pamphlets, etc.

(*c*) Advertising for new traffic.

(*d*) Canvassing for traffic and meeting competition from motor services, rivers, roadways, etc.

(*e*) Collecting information regarding trade, industrial and commercial activities.

(*f*) Directing the preparation of and examining Revenue Statistics (zonal, station-to-station and commodity, etc., statistics) with a view to maintaining an effective control over the rates and fares for both Coaching and Goods traffic of all descriptions. At one time the East Indian Railway Traffic Manager had a very big statistical branch.

(*g*) Formulating and examining proposals regarding new stations, additional facilities in the way of sidings to mills, factories and marts, roadways, etc.

(*h*) Dealing with proposals regarding new railway projects from the financial aspect.

(*i*) Inaugurating and giving effect to schemes for the general development of traffic.

(*j*) Dealing with all rating and routing, running power and joint station agreements with foreign railways, etc.

27. The public in India are evincing a steadily growing interest in railway tariffs, and requests from merchants, traders and industrial concerns for low rates are increasing apace. In each case careful investigation and well-administered decisions are called for. It is also becoming common practice on the part of almost every merchant and trader to approach the railway (before entering into contracts) for particulars of existing railway rates in order to ensure that transport costs are accurately known in advance, as the extent to which prices are often required to be cut down as a result of competition do not allow any margin for possible increases in railway freight charges after contracts have been made.

28. For the purpose of developing traffic, the East Indian Railway have introduced, after a lapse of 12 or 13 years, the old traffic canvasser's Report form, originally introduced by me when I first joined that Railway in 1903. If these Report forms are carefully and intelligently filled in and properly examined, the Rates and Development Department will have a valuable medium of information for the development of traffic. A copy of this form will be found in Appendix "A" of my book on "Organisation of Railways" (Calcutta University Publication, 1927). The work of examining Traffic canvasser's Reports and determining the action to be taken calls for the close attention of competent officers not only at Head Quarters but also on the line, *i.e.*, on the spot. Moreover, the interviewing of merchants, traders, mill and factory managers and of local agricultural and industrial officers of the Government is a vital function of the Rates and Development department and in the absence of rates officers on the line a lot of essential

work must necessarily be neglected to the detriment of the interests of the railway. Such work is at present left either to a Traffic Canvasser or to the Commercial Officer in each Division ; the latter knows very little of railway rates and the former because of his subordinate position cannot interview persons in responsible positions in trade and industries. And the rates officers at headquarters have hardly time to get out on the line for such work.

29. Then, again, in regard to the development of third class passenger traffic, local conditions require constant and careful study. Seeing that the third class passenger traffic is the backr bone of the Railway Coaching traffic it is here that greate attention is needed—far more than in the case of higher class passengers, which are more expensive to carry and represent a very small, if not insignificant, portion of the total passenger traffic. It is well known that traffic to and from religious shrines can be encouraged by cheap return fares and extra train services, while Melas can be created at almost every shrine of any importance and at religious bathing places several times in a month, *e. g.*, during "Ekadashis," "Purnimas," "Sankrantis" and "Amabashyas," etc., etc. But this work requires special attention and a good, reliable and efficient organisation with intensive canvassing. In the past, short-period third class return tickets for Melas at single fares had proved effective on the E. I. Railway, and they were granted very often during 1905, 1906, 1907 and I think up to 1910. Week-end tickets were also first introduced in those days. Similar tickets at low fares for marriage parties or for marriage party special trains would bring more money.

30. It must further be noted that establishment of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee has added a new feature of great importance in the general duties of the Rates and Development Department, and provides an incentive to merchants to ask for special low rates. Although the number of cases brought before the Committee are, so far, not

many, the moral effect of the step is there, because merchants and traders seeing that there is now a tribunal, to which appeal can be made against (what in their opinion may be) unreasonable rates or for reasonable rates, they (the traders and merchants) are more forward in approaching railways for special rates than they were before. This has added to the work, and each case requires more careful examination and consideration for the simple reason that railways would hesitate before refusing an application for a special rate unless they were thoroughly satisfied that they could assign very good reasons for such a course.

31. The duties of the Rates and Development Department, therefore, obviously requires undivided attention and a thoroughly sound and capable organisation. On the Railways in the U. S. A., the Traffic Manager or the Traffic Director, as he is sometimes called, " has his headquarters staff of capable assistants ; he has his managers or representatives located at all important points and these managers in their turn direct a host of local agents, solicitors (Traffic Canvassers as they are called in India) who keep the Area Managers (and the Area Managers in their turn keep the Traffic Director) fully informed of all that is happening."

The Rates and Development Manager in India should, therefore, be adequately enough equipped in personnel and organisation to know the tendencies of trade, the possibilities of development, and the precise reasons for fluctuation which vary constantly, so that he may devise means to meet conditions as they arise. It is only in this way that good can be done to the country and to its Railways.

32. Even 23 years ago, the late Mr. Neville Priestley in his Report on "American Railway Organisation" wrote as follows :—

> " *Traffic.*—This Department is in charge of an officer called the Traffic Manager, whose duty it is to

procure and develop the traffic of the railway on both the coaching and goods or freight side, and to issue all tariffs. In other words, he conducts the commercial business of the railway with the public and foreign railways."

* * * * *

"The American Railway Traffic Officers are men whose sole business is the solicitation of traffic and the fixing of rates which will make that traffic move. They spend the whole of their time travelling about the country with this object."

* * * * *

"The force of Traffic Officers is strong and capable and their attentions are not confined to America alone. They are in constant touch with shippers and they watch the foreign markets ; and where changes in rates are necessary to secure business, they are not slow to make them in combination with the steamer companies or by themselves. It is through the agency of these Traffic Officers that markets are now being opened up for American products in China and Australia in competition with European markets, and I was told of more rates than one which had lately been introduced with this object."

* * * * *

"The work is never combined, as it is in India, with that of the transportation department. Where the work is too heavy for for one man, it is divided between two, each independent of the other, who are called respectively Passenger Traffic Manager or General Passenger Agent, and Freight Traffic Manager."

* * * * *

> "Great importance is attached to the appointment of Traffic Managers, and the greatest care is exercised in the selection of officers to fill them. The development of the business of the railway largely depends on their energy and capacity, and on some railways their appointments are regarded as of equal importance with that of the General Manager who has charge of the Transportation Department."

* * * * *

The above quotations speak for themselves, and an organisation of this nature would be found very useful on Indian Railways in their present stage particularly in view of (*a*) the undoubted industrial awakening that has set in, (*b*) the present trade depression, (*c*) the forthcoming report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and (*d*) the pressing need for railways to improve their earnings owing to steadily increasing capital outlay.

33. It is however, not an easy thing always to get fully trained rates men either amongst officers or in the upper subordinate or higher clerical grades, because rates work not only requires specialised knowledge but a wide general knowledge and experience of traffic and trade conditions. In other words, while a rates man should be fully conversant with the intricacies of railway rates-making, traffic agreements and other practical railway details, he must also be conversant and keep constantly in touch with trade and traffic conditions and of sources of supply and demand, not only on his own line and on competitive lines, but in countries abroad (*e.g.*, the demands for India's productions in European and other markets) as well.

34. It is claimed that knowledge of railway operative working is to a certain extent necessary for a rates man, but greater experience in the foregoing directions, *viz.*, in the directions mentioned in para. 33 is far more essential. It is seldom that a man who has done transportation or claims work for a

pretty long time readily takes to rates work, the main reason being that there is more variety and diversion in operative and in goods and coaching work than in rates work, which is very dry, particularly in the initial stages of the subject. It is only when the higher stage of rates work is reached that it becomes not only interesting but all-absorbing.

35. Another reason why good rates men are scarce is that on the whole, so far as pay and prospects for promotion are concerned, they obtain more on the operative side or on the Goods and Coaching (Claims) side than in the Rates Department. The better paid posts in the Rates and Development Department are rare, and prospects for promotion in comparison with other Departments are notoriously poor.

36. The necessity for more men in the Rates Department, both in the superior and in the higher clerical or upper subordinate grades, will become more acute as time goes on, but such men will have to be trained, for they cannot be had readily. The sooner it is done, the better. For this purpose it is necessary to attract good men, who will remain in the department, and it is therefore essential that the Rates Department should have a separate cadre both for its officers and men, and the men should not be dependent on other departments for advancement. Their seniority and promotion must rest with their own department and on their own exertions in the specialised work which they are called upon to perform. At the present moment, they are dependent on vacancies in the present Commercial Department (or rather the proposed Goods and Coaching Department) for promotion, and however good their work may be in Rates and Development work their chances for promotion are often marred by the seniority of men in the Transportation or in the Claims (*i.e.* Goods and Coaching) departments.

37. Moreover, rates work can only be learnt from the bottom and the process of training in this department is necessarily slow, because each process has to be gone through step by

step, and this makes it all the more necessary that the men should remain content and satisfied so that continuity of service which is an all-essential factor in rates-making can be assured in each man's case. In the same way as there is no royal road to Geometry there is also no easy or royal road to rates knowledge.

38. The men who have become great rates men of Indian Railways were generally men who began from the bottom rung of the ladder and made rates work their speciality, and in all cases it was by sheer ability and dint of merit that they got to the top, and for Rates Manager's work, particularly at the present time, one requires experience, concentration and specialisation and a young and energetic man and at the same time a real expert in rates.

39. I will give only one or two instances of what can be achieved by specialisation. When the low coal rates were introduced in November, 1906 there commenced heavy bookings of Bengal Coal (from the beginning of 1907) to all parts of India, but there was a very large amount of wrong routing contrary to the agreements for routing of traffic between railways, resulting in hundreds of wagons being wrong-routed every week and sent by circuitous routes, which brought about considerable delays in turning round wagons. Mr. George Huddleston, then General Traffic Manager, and Mr. Peddie, then Coal Manager, of the East Indian Railway, became worried and deputed me to investigate the question. I went up to the Coal District and stayed there two or three days and the result was the Coal route-table which permanently solved the problem. That route table is in use even to-day. Then again, when I joined the E. I. Railway, it occurred to me that the E. I. Railway should not join in competition for Bombay traffic *viâ* Jubbulpore as against *viâ* Cawnpore, and thus encourage despatches to Bombay, which was against the interests of the Calcutta Port. I considered that everything should be done to encourage traffic to Calcutta and to develop the E. I.

Railway's local traffic making full use of the "Differential Rule."

40. The result was an exhaustive examination of the whole of the rates policy of the E. I. Railway, for which I was put on special duty. The upshot was the cancellation of the famous Jubbulpore agreements, which had operated for years to the advantage of the Bombay lines and the Bombay Port and to the disadvantage of the E. I. Railway and the Calcutta Port, *vide* page 148 of "A Monograph on Indian Railway Rates."

There was also a great disturbance of rates all round due to competition. Rates to all the ports, *viz.*, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi, were reduced, minimum rates were quoted by the E. I. Railway for Grains and Oil-seeds traffic from U. P. and Northern India. And under the free operation of the differential rule, rates for intermediate stations were reduced, *viz.*, the effect of low rates was felt right down up to Patna and Gaya. Many (excepting 4 persons, *viz.*, the late Mr. Douglas, the late Sir William Dring, Mr. George Huddleston and the late Mr. Ackland, all in high position) were opposed to the reductions, and when in the beginning there were big drops in the earnings (for rates had been cut down all round) we all had to go through unpleasant times. I had the greatest support and sympathy from late Sir William Dring, who was in daily touch with what I was doing and he directed my actions by advice and orders to no small extent, although he gave me a free hand. I can never forget his sympathy and support. But the adverse effect was but a temporary phase. Mr. George Huddleston is the only one alive out of the four gentlemen named, and he still remembers those days. The losses in earnings were recouped and soon more than made up. I remember the Bombay Rates meeting of March, 1905, which was attended on behalf of the E. I. Railway by late Sir W. Dring, Mr. Ackland and myself, just the day before Sir William Dring (then Mr. Dring) sailed for America as a delegate to the

International Railway Congress Session of that year. It was openly remarked that we (the E. I. Ry.) had entered into unnecessary, if not wasteful, competition, but we held our ground, for we were sure of it. The meeting failed to bring about settlement and competition went on. As a result of intensive canvassing both in Calcutta and up-country, careful and detailed investigations, and mostly due to low rates, traffic did develop, not only on the E. I. Railway, which had started the competition, but on the G. I. P. Railway as well, which also did active canvassing and reduced their rates. Very active canvassing was carried on the E. I. Ry. also. I was in charge of this work (in addition to fixing the rates) for the lower Division and Mr. Sheridan was in charge of canvassing in U. P. Competition was started in April, 1905, and operated nearly up to the end of the year. Finally, an agreement was come to, but the E. I. Railway decided that its Grain rates and some other rates must continue to remain low (the Grains rates of the E. I. Ry. at almost the minimum in many cases) and the E. I. Railway declined to level up these rates because they had seen the good effect of the reductions made. Consequently, the G. I. P. Railway rates from the non-competitive zones had to be reduced as well, but they (the G. I. P. Ry.) kept the rates from non-competitive stations for much shorter distances at higher figures, *i.e.*, their rates for longer distances were lower than for the shorter. This was not so on the E. I. Railway, where "the Differential Rule" was freely applied, *i.e.*, the rates for shorter distances were not to be higher than for the longer. The O. & R. Railway and the B. & N. W. Railway had also to keep down their rates at low figures for grains, oil-seeds, pulses, etc., because of the E. I. Ry. reductions. To-day the passenger fares (third class) and the Grain and Oil-seeds rates, in spite of the reductions that have recently been made, are not nearly as low as they were in those days on the E. I. Railway.

41. *The reduced rates and fares had the desired effect,* because there were considerable improvements in earnings on both

the E. I. Railway and the G. I. P. Railway and also on the O. & R. Railway and the B. & N. W. Railway as the following comparative figures will prove.

In 1904 (the year before the competition), the total earnings were as follows.

		Gross Revenue. Rs.
E. I. Railway	...	7,59,71,544
G. I. P. Railway	...	4,82,41,344
B. & N. W. Railway	...	67,16,933
O. & R. Railway	...	1,52,96,206

The earnings were as follows *in 1906 (the year after the competition)*, with low grain and other rates, but it is to be noted that this year was before the very low coal rates had effect, which were introduced from the 15th November, 1906, so that the Coal rates cannot be taken into account for purposes of comparison as they did not affect the earnings of 1906 in any way; although thereafter the coal traffic developed enormously by reduced rates and assisted to further increase the gross revenue (after 1906).

1906.		Gross Revenue. Rs.
E. I. Railway	...	8,02,50,910
G. I. P. Ry.	...	5,05,23,479
B. & N. W. Ry.	...	77,02,976
O. & R. Ry.	...	1,64,67,329

Another important feature was that the additional traffic though carried at lower rates brought in extra nett revenue, thereby affording nett returns on Capital outlay, *viz.*, during 1906 the nett return was 8·90% on the E. I. Railway and 7·54% on the G. I. P. Ry.

42. The foregoing instances are quoted in the way of illustration to show that careful investigation, concentrated

energy and judicious reductions in railway rates combined with efficient canvassing have always got the desired effect. There was, as already remarked, a strong Statistical branch in these days attached to the E. I. Ry. Traffic Manager's Office and, in addition, a mass of figures were also obtained from the Traffic Audit Office and examined before the rates were actually reduced. Of course, these low rates were subsequently enhanced in later years to meet the abnormal conditions created by the War and to increased working expenses, caused by rise in wages and prices everywhere, thus inflating railway working expenses.

43. But, nevertheless, the facts stated prove that so much depends on a judicious manipulation of Passenger fares and Goods rates and on general development that the Rates Development must have the best attention of the Government and of the Railway authorities. For a Railway like the E. I. Railway, the chief of the Rates and Development should be on the same footing as the Head of other Departments, and he should be a round man, and not a square man, in the round hole. A well-experienced Rates man, that is one who is really a Rates expert, should be the chief of the Department and preferably a young man with plenty of go in him, *i.e.*, not a man who is about to retire in 4 or 5 years' time. Continuity of service in the Rates Department for a period of at least 8 or 10 years should be considered an essential qualification for such a post.

44. Then, next to the Chief of the Rates Department, there should be a Deputy, who would and should be able to act for the Rates Manager when necessary, and would ordinarily relieve his Chief of all but the most important work, so that the latter may have ample time to concentrate on the higher problems.

45. In addition to the Chief and his Deputy there should be two Senior Scale Officers—one for general rates work and the other for development work, the latter principally on out-door duty. Also there ought to be at least six Junior Scale Officers,

pretty high in the Scale (one for the office and five for the line ; those for the line should be available for directly supervising the work of Traffic Canvassers, and publicity men, and keeping in constant personal touch with merchants, traders, industrial concerns, public organisations, etc.) Each out-door Officer should have for his area at least 4 Canvassers, three for Goods work and one for Coaching work. Great care should be taken in selecting the canvassing staff. Along with unquestionable ability and intelligence, both amiability and patience will also be necessary on their part to deal successfully with the general public.

46. On these lines the organisation of the proposed Rates and Development Department would be as follows :—

			Pay per mensem. Rs.	
1	Rates and Development Manager ...		2,250—2,750	
1	Dy. Rates and Development Manager ...		1,600—1,800	
2	Senior Scale Officers ...		1,150—1,300—1,500 1,150—1,300—1,500	
6	Junior Scale Officers ...		5,400 (average Rs. 900)	
20	Canvassers	13 7	120—200 220—250—400	4,300

Office staff.—As at present in the Head Office but with increased work increased clerical labour (trained in rates) will naturally be necessary.

For each of the 5 Area Officers' Office there should be

	Rs.	
One Rates Clerk ...	150—200	Thus an addition of Rs. 1,500 Rs. 400 per month for each of the 5 Out-door Officers.
One Stenographer...	80	
One Clerk ..	50	
One Clerk ...	40	
Peons ...	40	

Such an organisation would involve a total expenditure of, say, Rs. 20,500 per month (excluding Head Office clerical staff which is already there) or, say, Rs. 2,23,000 a year out of which nearly ¼th is, I think, already spent at present so that the extra sum involved will not be more than Rs. 1,70,000 a year which is a very small sum indeed compared with the results that can be achieved by this additional expenditure.

47. It may be asked why I have written this Note. The reply is obvious. I have devoted the greater portion of my life to practical and theoretical rates work both on and off railways, and my interest in the subject is as keen to-day as it was in 1898 when I originally started rates work after 6 years in general railway work in District and Traffic Manager's Offices. I am still doing rates work in addition to other commercial and educational works, and I feel that what is suggested in this Note, if carried out, would do a considerable amount of good to India, particularly to the East Indian Railway and to its customers. I have watched work in the Rates Departments of the principal Indian Railways for a number of years, particularly that of the East Indian Railway and my connection with a large commercial Firm during recent years has afforded me ample opportunities of appreciating results of Railway policy in this direction from various standpoints.

The commercial spirit, business principles and the desire to progress and advance are all helped by concentration of energy in a particular direction. But the best results can never be achieved without having a thoroughly sound organisation and the best and most capable men for the posts created. The constant collection of information and keeping in regular contact with everyday affairs relating to trade and traffic conditions, combined with a careful examination of results, are vital factors to the business requirements of a Railway, and they should receive the attention that they deserve at the hands of the highest Railway authorities in India.

S. C. GHOSE

AN INTERPRETATION

(OF THE LORD'S PRAYER)

Thy will be done, thus do we pray,
To God, the Father, day by day,
Thy will for good, for peace and love,
That earth may be as Heaven above.

Thy will for all things, fine, and true,
Courage, justice, mercy, too;
Let all fulfil Thy Law of Love,
As angels do in Heaven above.

Give us this day our daily bread,
Power and strength Thy paths to tread
Be ours to aid souls in distress,
Bring rest to those in weariness.

Forgive our sins, we pray Thee, Lord,
As we forgive, tho' it be hard,
A brother who in love has failed
May we, with such, be reconciled.

Keep us from sin, from Satan's charms,
Thy people free from war's alarms,
In all men's hearts be peace and love,
Like that, that reigns in Heaven above.

MARIE AINSLIE CAVANAUGH

DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND HONORED BY HINDUS IN AMERICA

Dr. J. T. Sunderland will be guest of honor at a dinner given in New York City on May 12th. On this occasion the members of the Hindustan Association, the India Freedom Foundation, and the Hindustani residents of the United States will express to him their deep gratitude for his great devotion to India.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's message of "grateful admiration "and his autographed photo will be presented to Dr. Sunderland, together with the messages and mementos of his admirers in India and elsewhere.

Dr. Sunderland has been widely known in India for many years through his visits and subsequent activities and writings on behalf of India. Since 1895 when he first visited India, he has identified himself whole-heartedly with India's cause for freedom by writing, lecturing and co-operating with organizations whose efforts were devoted to the emancipation of India.

Dr. Sunderland was born February 11th, 1842 and is now in his eighty-sixth year. He has recently written a book on India and is a frequent contributor to periodicals in America and India.

He is very often called upon to preside at Hiudu meetings and to speak at their dinners, and, in spite of his advanced age, he never fails to respond with courageous zeal.

Freedom of India is his one dearest wish, and it is the strength of this great desire which keeps him actively writing about India when others of his age would be peacefully passing their days in retirement.

His recent book on India, published in America, comes at an opportune time when such a vicious propagandist as Katharine Mayo is reliably quoted as an authority on India after a possible (?) "four month's" tour.

Dr. Sunderland's information, on the other hand, was gathered from two extensive investigations in India and a permanent contact with Indian culture and politics for many years.

Something ought to be said here in regard to his qualifications for writing about India. Had he sufficient knowledge of the subject to make his book worthy of the attention of intelligent readers ? As a partial answer, I venture to submit the following statements.

He has been deeply interested in India during all his adult life. That interest began in boyhood, as a result of reading and hearing much about Indian Missions and becoming acquainted with two returned missionaries. Early the dream took possession of his mind to become a missionary himself. This dream was constantly with him in college and theological seminary, and his studies and reading were shaped largely with a view to a life in India. His sister, next in age to himself, went there as a missionary ; so did his college mate and dearest friend.

As for himself, his thought changed and he chose a different calling. But his deep interest in India did not wane and has never waned. For more than forty years he has been a constant student of India's great religions, her extensive literature, her philosophies, her remarkable art, her long history and, above all, her pressing and vital present-day social and political problems.

On account of his known long-time interest in Indian matters, in 1895-96 he was sent by the British National Unitarian Association on a special commission to India to study the religious, social, educational and other conditions of the Indian people, and make an extended report upon the same in London on his return. In 1913-14, he was sent again, on a similar commission, by the joint appointment of the British Unitarian Association and the American Unitarian Association.

In prosecuting the inquiries and performing the duties of these two commissions, he travelled in India more than 13,000 miles, visiting missionaries, government officials, English business men and prominent Indians, speaking in nearly all the more important cities, and holding conferences with Indian leaders of all religious and political parties.

Nor were his investigations confined to cities. On the contrary, he took pains to carry on his inquiries in many smaller towns and villages, spending weeks, travelling on horseback from village to village in remote country places where no American had ever before been seen. By this means he was able, as few foreigners have been, to come into direct contact with all classes, and study India's problems from the side of the people themselves, as well as from the side of Great Britain, and thus find out first-hand the actual conditions existing in the land.

He was fortunate in being able to attend two annual sessions of the Indian National Congress, the Indian National Social Conference, and the All-India Theistic Conference,—speaking at the first two named, and speaking and presiding at the last; and, what was very important, forming acquaintances at these great gatherings, among political leaders, leaders of social reforms and Brahmo and Arya Samaj and other Theistic leaders from all parts of India.

While in India, Dr. Sunderland became deeply interested in the important periodical press which he found there—dailies, weeklies, and monthlies—some of which quite surprised him by their great excellence. These periodicals he read extensively during both his visits ; and ever since returning home from his first visit in 1896, he has been a regular subscriber to and reader of, no fewer than seven of these, published in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Poona, Lahore and Allahabad. Thus during all these years he has been able to keep in almost as close touch with the affairs of India as with those of his own country.

Nor has his reading about India been confined to these constantly arriving and important periodicals ; there have been few books of importance upon Indian matters (particularly books dealing with political affairs and social questions) published in

England, India or America within the past thirty years, that Dr. Sunderland has not imposed upon himself the duty, and given himself the pleasure, of reading.

And possibly what he considers most important of all, during the entire five years of the stay of Mr. Lajpat Rai in America (from 1914 to 1919), he had the "privilege and honor of being intimately associated with that distinguished Indian leader in active work for India," reading the proofs of the three books written and published by him in America, writing the elaborate "Foreword" of the first, and assisting him in other ways: and when the Lala returned to India, becoming editor of the monthly *Young India*, which he had established in New York, and also becoming his successor as President of the India Home Rule League of America, and of the India Information Bureau of New York.

Dr. Sunderland has lectured somewhat extensively in the United States and Canada on India, its religions, art, literature, social problems and struggle for self-rule. He has also written much for Indian periodicals; and two books from his pen have been published in India.

"Cause of Famine in India," "India, America and World Brotherhood," and "India's Case for Freedom" are three of his books with which all educated Indians should be familiar.

Sir Digby's "Prosperous British India" had its inception at the suggestion of Dr. Sunderland.

Dr. Sunderland's services to India are equal to, if not surpassing, those of that 'grand old man,' Dadabhai Naoroji, especially when one considers that he was not born a Hindu, and espoused India's cause from a pure sense of justice and godliness.

All India will always remember Dr. Sunderland, and we Hindustanis in America join in paying our debt of gratitude to this grand old man, Dr. J. T. Sunderland. We hope that he will live to see India free and independent.

RAMLAL B. BAJPAI

NEW CONTENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY, DEMOCRACY AND NATIONHOOD

AN ANALYSIS OF IDEAS IN THE BACKGROUND OF EVENTS (1905-1927)

1924-27. The new Arabia and Mesopotamia constitute for the time being some five more or less politically and ethnically separate regions carved out of the carcass of the defunct Turkish Empire by the world-war (1914-18) and peace-treaties down to Lausanne (1922). These states may be compared to the " nationality "-states created out of Austria-Hungary by the same process. But while the new states of Central Europe possess *de facto* sovereignty and independence, as much at any rate as small and young states can possibly possess in this epoch of world-economy and military-naval-aerial preparedness, the new states of Western Asia (the " Near East " as it is known in Eur-American parlance) are marked by varying degrees of subjection to the great powers, especially Great Britain and France, who function as the "mandatories" of the League of Nations. The least dependent *de jure* of these regions appears for the present to be Hedjaz, and the most dependent Syria, Palestine and Iraq. And so far as economic and cultural developments are concerned there is no doubt that *de facto* all these regions without any distinction are dependent on foreign guidance in the matter of brain and bullion.

Political *philosophy* in these countries (*cf.* also Persia and China) is but the *history* of nationalistic (*i.e.*, anti-foreign) and industrial movements on the lines of the earlier experience of Eur-America. "Speculation" in politics seems to have hardly gone beyond the day-to-day preachings of the "patriots" as to the duties of their countrymen to the fatherland.

Developments in Western Asia.[1]

(1) Hedjaz and Nejd: The Wahabite Sultan **Ibn-Saud** captures Mecca and Medina (1925), enters into treaties with the British Government through Gilbert Clayton (1927), and invites engineers and doctors from Egypt to "modernize" the country. His ambition of being recognized as the Caliph of all Islam is frustrated at the Caliphate Congress held at Mecca (1926). But his interest in secular reforms seems to be keen.

(2) Palestine: The British Government issues a £4,500,000 Palestine Loan in order to develop the country (1925). The enterprises comprise among other items the construction of a harbour at Haifa on the Mediterranean which is to rival or perhaps eclipse Beirut in Syria (French) and Smyrna (Turkey) to the North. The exploitation of the resources of the Dead Sea is another great project in this line. Fully "elected" municipalities are established in 1927 on which Arabs and Jews, the two fighting indigenous elements, officially co-operate perhaps for the first time in modern history.

(3) Iraq: The Brussels agreement of 1924 between Turkey and Great Britain over the Mosul question settles the situation in Iraq. As the result of King **Faisal**'s visit to London, Iraq is further defined as "an independent sovereign state" by the treaty of 1927. A conscription bill is on the anvil, although opposed by the Shiahites. A pipe line, some 500 miles long, to connect Mosul with the Mediterranean somewhere near Haifa (in British-mandated Palestine) through French Syria is being projected by Anglo-American finance in co-operation with French and Dutch interests. A parallel line of railway is a part of the scheme.

(4) Syria: The French High Commission has almost succeeded in pacifying the rebellious elements under Sultan **El-Altrash** (1926-27). The Nationalists are coming to terms with the " mandatory " authority in regard to a constitution which is likely to be of the federal type but perhaps not as democratic or progressive as the "extremists" wish.

(5) Yemen: Italy recognizes Imam **Yahia** as king and enters into commercial treaties with him. It is to be noted that Eritrea on the African side of the Red Sea is an Italian " colony " and hence possesses political and economic interest in the Yemen corner of Arabia lying as it does as a neighbour.

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[1] A valuable book of facts and documents bearing on 1926 and 1927 is Jung's *L'Islam et l'Asie devant l'Imperialisme* (Islam and Asia before Imperialism), Paris, 1927, which continues the story in the author's previous work *L'Islam sous le Joug* (Islam under the Yoke), Paris, 1926.

1925. **Prezzolini** : *Il Fascismo* (Fascism), *Amendola* (the statesman of Mazzinian and democratic views), *La culture italienne* (Italian culture).

The Fascist revolution had much in common with the Russian in so far as it arose out of activity coming from the minority who were out to conduct reforms and to sweep away the old electoral, parliamentary and democratic systems. But there were differences too. Fascism did not wipe out the old constitution but merely added to it, whereas communism (in Russia) set up a new constitution in the place of the old. Fascism has not fulfilled all its promises, it has sometimes even acted contrary to them. But it has achieved some very famous reforms.

Many of these reforms would have come about without the aid of fascism, for Italy had already made great advances in political economy and labour conditions. The social peace and order brought about by the Fascist regime, and so advantageous not only to commerce and industry but also to the everyday life of the middle classes, have been obtained at the sacrifice of liberties; *e.g.*, (*i*) liberty of reunion, (*ii*) liberty of association, (*iii*) liberty of the press, (*iv*) liberty of the individual.

Parliamentary institutions do not come spontaneously into existence in Italy : they are borrowed from England or from France. The Italian people never sought liberal institutions, their political institutions are the commune (a government founded on class and party), and the aristocracy (a government founded by a great man and carried on by successive members of his family).

Fascism has never had a set programme. It has adopted the programmes of other parties adapted to the temperaments of its own leaders. The reforms had been prepared by the Liberals, everything was in readiness, all the statistics had been worked out, all that was lacking was the will, and this Fascism was able to provide.

Mussolini's genius lies in his resolution, in satisfying the extremists with promises and then forcing them to accept the reasonable course and abandon the dangerous course which their principles and their temperaments dictated. Fascism is the *revolt of the middle classes* inspired by nationalist and conservative ideals to range themselves against the pretensions of the proletarian classes and against the ill-distributed fortunes of the capitalists, the revolt of a mass disillusioned by a peace which had failed to realise in internal politics those rewards in which they had been led to put their trust, and which in foreign politics had failed to obtain for them what they considered their right and dues.[1]

1925-1927. The humiliating Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919, which was annulled by the Nationalists (1921-22) has however been virtually restored by **Riza Khan** who is crowned and recognized as Shah (1925). His "moderatism" is as anti-Soviet as pro-British (*cf.* Chang Kaishek in China). Radical risings are being suppressed with vigour, *e.g.*, at Khorasan, Gilan, etc. The Persian question, as the Chinese, leads to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Bolshevik Russia (April 1927). But in the meantime the Bahrein Islands question excites anti-Britishism even in the official circles of Persia. The British " capitulations " are reported to be abrogated by the Persian Government (May, 1928). But the terms seem to indicate that this alleged abrogation does not imply any great recovery of sovereignty from foreign control.

Whatever be the fortunes of nationalism in Persia and of the Persian factor in international complications, economic development in the sense of industrialism and capitalism should appear to have been making a headway in this country as in China. Here as in the Far East the rôle of foreign capital is moreover an important feature. For instance, the Government of Riza Khan has sanctioned the construction of a network of roads under British auspices. The roads are intended on the one hand to unite the Mesopotamian roads through Teharan with Tabriz, and on the other to link up Persia with the Indian system.

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[1] *Reference.*—Gentile: *Che cosa e fascismo* (What is Fascism)? Florence 1926, Rocca, *Idee sul Fascismo* (Ideas on Fascism). Florence 1924 ; Marinetti, *Fascismo e Futurismo* (Fascism and Futurism), 1924.

This network of roads will greatly lighten the projected railway construction (especially in the laying down of the Trans-Persian track, Mohammerah-Teheran-Benner-Gaz and the Bagdad branch Khanikin-Hamadan). It creates a network of approach roads and intersecting roads, foreshadowing an extensive development of motor transport. A point of special economic importance is the creation of internal markets by linking together provinces distant from one another. The problem of transit through the territories of Soviet Russia for North Persia, affording the possibility of directing the production of the North to the internal markets and the ports of the Mediterranean is also being partially solved. Besides, these roads, being a continuation of Indian and Iraq railways in the direction of the Trans-Caucasian and Turkestan frontiers of Russia will have some strategic importance as well.

Conditions are thus being established whereby at any moment thousands of armed men can be transported by motors from India and Mesopotamia.

1925. **Meisel:** *Die britische und deutsche Einkommensteuer* (British and German Income Tax).

A tax reformer for Germany, **Dietzel,** advocates the British system of levying the tax at the source of income in a publication of the *Verein fuer Socialpolitik* (1919). But Meisel says that the German system of levying the tax from the tax-payer himself yields more revenue than the other system. The British system is, besides, not well adapted to the technique of progressive taxation which involves the complete knowledge of a person's "total income." As the principle and practice of progressive taxation have been gaining ground in the world, the problem of estimating a person's total income is sure to come to the forefront and along with it tax-reformers will be forced to admit the superiority of the system (German) of collecting from the person to that of collecting at the source (British).

1926. **Hilton Young** Currency Commission advises for India (1) the introduction of the gold bullion standard and (2) the establishment of a Reserve Bank. In regard to the first item the theory is 100% Ricardian as embodied in the *Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency* (1816). Ricardo's gold-*bar* standard as the ideally best came into actual existence in a modified form in the "gold exchange standard" of Holland (1877); since then followed in other countries including India (1893-98). There is greater independence and more gold in the gold-bullion (or bar) standard than in the gold exchange standard. In regard to the Reserve Bank, the title is taken from the U.S.A. (1913), but the theory from Germany (the Reichsbank Act of 1875). In other words, the principle of the British Bank Charter Act of 1844 is accepted in its elastic and improved form such as has been rendered popular for the banking and currency world in the German legislation (*cf.* Japan, 1882). On this item, therefore, the Ricardian (and Smithian) theory, *viz.*, the "banking principle" which was accepted by the *Banque de France* is rejected as it was likewise done by Peel for the Bank of England (1844-45) in favour of the "currency principle."

1926. Imperial Conference establishes the "equality of status" between Great Britain and the Dominions as members of the British Empire. They are "in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs." Great Britain and the Dominions are both regarded as "autonomous communities within the British Empire", "united by a common allegiance to the Crown" and "freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The Dominions are thereby thoroughly emancipated from the Colonial Office which administers the "crown colonies" and "protectorates" of old as well as the "mandated" regions of to-day. A new administrative department known as the Dominions Office has accordingly been established (1925).[1]

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[1] A study of the ambitions of Australia in the perspectives of Japan and the U.S.A. is presented in Etherton; *The Pacific : A Forecast*, London, 1927. See also Dening : *The Future of the British Army*, London, 1927,

1926. **Moon,** American : *Imperialism and World Politics* indicates how post-war colonialism is entirely akin to the colonialisms of previous epochs. Neither the logic nor the urge of imperialism has changed, in so far at any rate as the economic aspects are concerned. Imperialism is still regarded as the "sovereign solution for providing the mother country with raw materials and food-stuffs, with opportunities for marketing surplus goods, for investing surplus capital and for relieving surplus population."

1926. In August the first Pan-Asian Congress sits at Nagasaki. Propagandists from China, Siam, Korea, the Philippines, Japan and India take part as delegates. Equality of races, abrogation of unilateral treaties, emancipation of the Asian peoples from the yoke of foreigners and other items form the subject of resolutions. Something like an Asian League of Nations is projected.[1]

This non-official meeting in the Far East is followed in November of the same year by an official (?) congress held at Odessa in Russia in which the statesmen and ambassadors of Russia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and China take part. A Pan-Oriental League is said to have been established with the object of promoting united defence against aggressors.

1927. **Hobson** J. A. (1858—) : "Must we scrap Democracy?" in the *Nation* (London, Dec. 3).

He combats **Bernard Shaw's** denunciation of "democracy as a delusion" and incidentally also **Bryce's** doubts as to the feasibility of any real democracy except in a few of the smaller European countries such as Switzerland and Scandinavia and condemns Shaw's thesis to the effect that government of the people is necessary, government for the people possible, but that government by the people a permanent impossibility. According to Shaw the ordinary man "only wants to know what to do," is always prepared to accept an authority.

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[1] Jung : *L'Islam et l'Asie*, Paris, 1927.

He does not mind whether the autocrat imposes himself forcibly (like Mussolini) or through a "conscious minority" or whether some formality of election is gone through. Hobson opposes this Fascist philosophy of human nature and the characteristics of the masses by enunciating his own articles of faith thus: (1) The common folk is not to be contemptuously treated as the "swinish multitude" in the manner of Burke. (2) The electorate is not a single, inert, ignorant mass. Every electorate consists of many grades and sorts of intelligence and public spirit. In every electorate there are "groups of politically minded persons with constructive as well as critical minds." Even in the case of those who are mere followers or party adherents one can notice a somewhat conscious and intelligent appreciation of the interests at stake. (3) The demos does not always ignore "measures" and does not always vote for "men." "No doubt a Napoleon or a Mussolini may at a critical juncture capture the imagination of the crowd. But history affords no evidence that he can hold it. The normal mind of democracy does not give blank cheques to tyrants. (4) Though the "people" cannot draft a Bill or negotiate a foreign treaty in the manner of experts they can make themselves fairly articulate on lines of policy directly affecting their interests.

1927. Indian National Congress: Session at Madras.

President: **Ansari.** The assembly decides upon "complete national independence" (as contrasted with the "Swaraj" of the period since 1906) as the goal of Indian political struggle. It associates itself with the World's League against Imperialism established at Brussels in February and initiates an Asian policy for India by demanding the withdrawal of Indian troops, officers, police and consulate guards from China, Mesopotamia and Persia. It condemns the war-preparations of Great Britain in the North Western Frontier Province of India and in the Eastern Seas and calls upon the people to refuse to be exploited by Great Britain in and for her imperialistic wars in Asia or abroad. A boycott of the forthcoming Simon Commission for enquiry into the Government of India is declared. The deliberations lead to the focusing of attention on constitution-making and on a suitable constitution for free Swaraj in India.[1]

The literature on the subject has been growing—*cf.*

1. Chitta Ranjan Das and Bhagavan Das: *Outline Scheme of Swaraj*, Benares, 1923.
2. Annie Besant: *Commonwealth of India Bill* (presented by Mr. Lansbury to the British Parliament, December, 1925).
3. Tej Bahadur Sapru: *Indian Constitution*, Madras 1926.
4. Independent Labour Party (British): *Swarajya for India Bill*, draft for discussion, not yet presented to Parliament, 1927.
5. C. Vijiaraghavachariar: *Swaraj Constitution*, Madras, 1927.
6. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: *Draft Constitution of India Bill*, Madras, 1927.
7. S. Srinivas Iyengar, *Swaraj Constitution*, Madras, 1927.

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[1] —Sarkar: *Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations* (Calcutta, 1926).

Independence and sovereignty are limited as a matter of course. The contract, psychological although not historical, that brings a state into being can create also a system of international law, arbitration and such other institutions of positive law. The facts of "intervention" from the outside have now to be assimilated to the concept of sovereign territorial jurisdiction.

External sovereignty is always limited and conditional. By its very origin, *i.e.*, historically speaking, it is a bye-product of international conjuncture, *i.e.*, conflicts between neighbours. By its very nature, *i.e.*, psychologically or analytically speaking, it is dependent on, *i.e.*, conditioned by the express or tacit approval of the neighbouring powers. Finally, it is limited also factually by international agreements and positive contracts (public and private) in recent years.

1927. Recent political thinking in Japan concerns itself mainly with the issues raised by the passing of **Baron Kato's** Universal Suffrage Act in 1925, which entitles every male above 25 to vote (*cf.* England, Third Reform Bill, 1885). No "general election" has yet been held on this new, manhood franchise basis. But the shufflings among the old parties and the creation of new ones testify to the stir and turmoil in public mentality. Japan has to face bourgeois democracy as well as more or less organised Bolshevism simultaneously, and this for the first time in her constitutional life.

Three Bourgeois Parties

1. *Kensei-kai* is the Party in power headed by **Wakatsuki.**

2. *Seiyu-kai* Party forms the Opposition headed by General **Tanaka** and is a little inferior to the Government Party in numerical strength.

3. *Seiyu-honto,* headed by **Tokonami,** consists of 90 members only but is influential as deciding the strength of the other two parties.

These three parties possess no separate platforms and their constituencies are virtually the same. The three props supporting the constituency, says the *Asahi* of Osaka, are militarism, the almighty dollar and the peerage. There cannot be any fundamental difference between them. But yet the Taiwan Bank question leads to the fall of the *Kensei-kai* and the establishment of the Tanaka-Ministry (*Seiyu-kai*) in April 1927.

Split in the Labour Organisation.

In 1925 during the early days of the universal suffrage the *Sodomei* (General Federation of Labour) develops moderate or reformist tendencies. A split takes place in the labour organisation.

The *Hyogikai* (National Council of Labour Unions), a small section, extremist and revolutionary, secedes from the *Sodomei* (November 1925). The leader, **Fukumoto,** is a radical Marxist.

Four Proletarian Parties.

1. Chronologically speaking, the first so-called proletarian party is the Japan Peasants' Party formed in October, 1925. It comprises both farmers and landowners, but excludes factory workers, and may be regarded as the extreme right of the proletarian parties.

2. In December, 1925, the *Sodomei* establishes the Peasants' and Workers' Party, which, however, is suspected as communistic and is dissolved by the police. But in November, 1926, the *Sodomei* succeeds in founding a party—called the Social People's Party—by eliminating radical elements of all sorts. The membership comprises expert mechanics and the "intellectuals." Professor **Abe** of Waseda University (Tokyo) is the leader of this party.

3. The extremists are at the same time organized in the Peasants' and Workers' Party. It comprises three radical groups: (1) the *Hyogikai*, (2) *Suiheisha* (Young Men's League), (3) *Seiji Kenkyu-kai* (Labour Political Research Association).

4. Japan Labour-Agrarian Party (also established in November, 1926) is described as centrist by non-proletarianists. **Kono** and **Miwa** are the leaders.[1]

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[1] —In February 1928 the Tanaka Ministry (*Seiyu-kai*) suddenly dissolves the Parliament. The *Kokumin* of Tokyo has the following to say in regard to this:—

"The dissolution of the Diet is not new in Japan, and the present one is the twelfth to be dissolved in the history of our Diet. But the present dissolution has much more meaning than those of the past, as it closes the last session of the Diet under restricted suffrage. Of course even without the dissolution the general election would have been held in May and the dissolution only brought it a few months earlier. But to have the first election under general manhood suffrage even a few months earlier is indeed very happy news. We do not think that the general manhood suffrage election will bring a radical change in our political condition. The existing parties have all become degenerated, and are considering party and personal interests before the welfare of the country. The only way to remedy this situation is to hold elections under general manhood

1927. Afghanistan emerges in post-war Asia and in contemporary world politics with the marks of virility such as

suffrage. The Government and other large parties will do everything to increase their power in the Diet to be formed by the result of the coming election. Also proletariat parties may be planning to gain their footing in the Diet, and if they are able to forget petty differences of opinion and sentimental conflicts and to come to some agreement to take concerted action together, they will be able to give their efforts towards the national welfare."

The Tokyo *Asahi's* remarks are given below:—

" If the policies of the great parties cannot be trusted and are against the interests of the public, we can vote for proletariat candidates at the coming election. The more proletariat members are sent to the House of Representatives, the greater influence will they have in the Diet. In one sense, the coming election is very important as an indicator of how many proletariat candidates would be elected. Those who have been disappointed with the existing political parties will vote for the proletariat parties, and it makes the amalgamation of all proletariat parties absolutely necessary.

" The present dissolution has another meaning having given the first opportunity to try the election under general manhood suffrage. General manhood suffrage was not desired by the existing parties and because of the compromise reached between the political parties and the House of Peers, suffrage has not been extended as much as the public demands. The present general manhood suffrage regulations have many defects, but under the new regulations there are 12,500,000 voters, while under the restricted suffrage the voters were only 3,500,000. Thus the new election regulations have marked a new epoch in the Japanese political and parliamentary history. If new voters who have been refused suffrage in the past will exercise their right properly and effectively, the Diet will be improved. Because of this meaning the coming election should be held fairly under the supervision of the public. If the result of the election does not bring any change in the Diet then it shows that the public interest in constitutional politics has been lost and the country will come to a political crisis."

Cf. S. Uyehara: *Industry and Trade of Japan,* London 1927. See the chapters on "Democracy in Japan" in Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* (1926), and " Japan since the Earthquakes " in *Economic Development* (1926). Tsuchida, *Contemporary Thought of Japan and China,* London, 1927.

characterised Japan between 1867 and 1886. The apostle of this *Meiji* (enlightenment) Epoch for the young Afghan is King **Amanullah** who ascends the throne (1919). A war with Great Britain, although ending in defeat for him in the battle-fields, brings him, in the long run, the world-recognition of "complete independence". for his people as well as the title of "His Majesty" for himself (1922). One of his most important early measures consists in the despatch of two diplomatic missions to Europe and America under General Mohammed Wali (1919, '22).

Afghan energism has been manifesting itself on all fronts of civic life. Secular courts of law have been established, slavery has been abolished, equality of the races and religions before law has been declared. Female emancipation also is on. Besides, schools are being started, roads built, mines prospected, engineering works projected, commercial treaties contracted, American finance invited, and the army reorganized. Cultural co-operation has been sought and obtained from Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Turkey, and India. Afghans have been sent to foreign countries as scholars and apprentices while at the same time foreign experts have been entrusted with jobs at home for developmental work. And finally, to watch with his own eyes the technical progress of the modern world and enjoy a bit of the "modernism" of his friends and allies, Amanullah starts on a European tour in the spring of 1928.

Altogether, one notices the features of all "enlightened despots" from Asoka to Peter, Frederick and Mutsuhito. But "constitutional monarchy" or representative democracy is yet to come.

Socio-Philosophical Equations.

It has not been possible to dwell at length on the political philosophies of modern and contemporary Asia. But the logical as well as chronological links between the ideologies of

Asia and those of Eur-America have been indicated at important points.

The "curves" of life in political theory and practice as manifest in the modern East are more or less similar to those in the modern West. If one were to plot out these curves diagrammatically one would notice that the Asian series ran almost parallel to the Eur-American. The "trends" of evolution would appear to be nearly identical in the most significant particulars and in cidents of thought and experience.

The "exactnesses" of the mathematical and "positive" sciences are, however, not to be expected in the human and moral disciplines. But certain socio-philosophical "equations" may still be discovered in a comparative estimate of the East and the West. By placing the Asian curves in the perspective of the Eur-American one can establish a number of identities for the modern period,—although, of course, not without "buts" and "ifs."

But in any case, taking Asia as a whole one would come to the conclusion that the political philosophies in the different regions of the Orient are mainly but repetitions of Eur-American developments in their earlier stages. In keeping with the conclusions of my previous studies in world-culture and world-economy (*The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, 1914, *Futurism of Young Asia*, 1922, *Economic Development*, 1926), the present outline also establishes the following socio-philosophical equations:

(1) New Asia (*c* 1880-1890) = Modern Eur-America (*c* 1776-1832).

(2) Young India (*c* 1925-27) = Eur-America (*c* 1848-1875).

In the first equation Asia comprises Turkey and Egypt, indicating that the entire Orient from Tokyo to Cairo was witnessing a transformation roughly corresponding to the remaking of the West during the epoch of the "industrial revolution."

The second equation has special reference to India, indicating that Japan and Turkey as well as China, Persia and Egypt, will have to be comprehended by separate, perhaps five different equations. There are likewise to be separate equations not only for Hedjaz, Palestine, Syria and Iraq but also for Afghanistan which has for some time been enjoying lime-light as a somewhat serious and sincere youngster attempting the alphabet of modernism in administration, culture and economic life.

In other words, although modernisation began effectively to influence the Asian continent at different points more or less simultaneously during the decade from 1880 to 1890, the *rate of growth* for the different regions since then has been different.

For instance, the distance of some 50 years that existed between Japan and Eur-America, say, about 1886, has been made up to a very considerable extent, so that for to-day the appropriate sociological identity would perhaps be indicated by the following equation :

Japan (*c* 1925-27) = Eur-America (*c* 1905).

That is, while India continues still to be some 50 years behind the modern West in constitution, industrialism, etc., and the allied philosophies,—the distance that existed during the decade 1880-1890,—Japan has succeeded in "catching up to" the go-aheads by about a whole generation. And to that extent Japan to-day is ahead of contemporary India.

Within the limitations to which all sociological equations as attempts at measuring magnitudes bearing on "un-exact" sciences are bound to be subject, it should be equally possible to indicate, for the purposes of comparative social statistics, the rates of growth in the line of modernization for different regions of Eur-America as well. The entire West is not one in industrialism, democracy or the corresponding philosophies.

To take one instance, that of Germany, we should find the following equations:—

(1) Germany (*c* 1848-75) = Great Britain (*c* 1776-1832), but
(2) Germany (*c* 1905) = Great Britain (*c* 1905).

The first equation says that about 1875 Germany was tremendously behind Great Britain, at least, by a whole generation. But by 1905, *i. e.*, in 30 years she, first, made up the distance and, secondly, caught up to the latter. She was indeed on the point of crossing the equation-limit. The war of 1914-18 should appear philosophically to be nothing more than the dramatic demonstration of this disturbance of the equation.

The chronological survey in this publication will not fail perhaps to furnish some hints as to what may be described as new types of curves, equations and "index numbers" for social science.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

INARTICULATE

There are so many songs I want to sing,
But when I try, my tongue is mute and still;
There are so many things I want to do,
Brave deeds, gallant deeds, all things fine and true.
I picture the happiness they will bring
To others: but when I try, it all seems vain.
There are so many ways I want to be
That I am not; Fate seems perverse, and she
Still mocks at me. Ah well, my dreams remain;
And so with dreams I'll dwell, along life's way.
At least I'll think the lovely thoughts, and hear
The songs, and hope that in another life
I'll sing, and do, and be, all that I feel to-day!

LILY S. ANDERSON

W. B. YEATS

V

A study of Yeats and his poetry will remain hopelessly incomplete unless something is said at some length about two things which in the case of Yeats at any rate are very closely allied :—these are (1) symbolism in literature and (2) mysticism considered as a literary element.

I have already, in passing, more than once barely referred to these two important elements and propose now to deal somewhat elaborately with them without any apology because a right interpretation of the poetry of Yeats and of the Celtic Movement with which he is so intimately associated, if not identified, seems to me to very largely depend upon a careful study of symbolism and mysticism as they enter into the poetry of Yeats considered on its artistic side and into his mental makeup affecting his outlook on life. One or two other characteristics of the poet connected with the final phase of his life and work will also be dealt with in this concluding part of my study[1] of Yeats.

SYMBOLISM

It may be said of Yeats as has often been said of Paul Verlaine that " he sang not what he saw with his bodily[2] eyes, but with his soul's[3] vision and from the violin of his heart his poetic bow drew forth harmonies sad and delicate, such as awaken slumbering echoes in other wounded hearts." And we may note that the ancient Gaels held poetry to be an immaterial, supersensual form of flame. Brigit in their mythology was at once the goddess of fire and the hearth as also of poetry.

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[1] The original Paper on Yeats (read before the Poetry Society) has been amplified with regard to these two topics.

[2] *Cf.* " The Two Trees " and what is popularly ascribed to the blind religious poet Raftery as represented in " Helen's Eye."

[3] *Vide* pp. 279-81, Calcutta Review for March.

Yeats observes in the prose piece "And Fair, Fierce Women" (of "Celtic Twilight")—"One day a woman that I know came face to face with heroic beauty, that highest beauty which Blake says changes least from youth to age, a beauty which has been fading out of the arts, since that decadence we call progress set voluptuous beauty in its place." Again we have in "Enchanted Woods" (1902)—" If beauty is not a gateway out of the net we were taken in at our birth, it will not long be beauty," etc.

Ideal Beauty.

"The Old Pensioner's contemplations," we learn, are "of time that has transfigured him" and he adds

> "And yet the beauties that I loved
> *Are in my memory.*

(Italics mine.)

In "The Table of the Law" we find the statement (connected with the teachings of the Christian mystic Joachim) that "poets, painters, and musicians labour at their works, building them with lawless and lawful things alike, so long as they embody the beauty that is beyond the grave."

Baudelaire in the poem "Beauty," where she is as lovely as a dream in stone and inspires the poet with a lone, taciturn and eternal love, makes this sphinx that no mortal knows hold her throne in the heaven's azure deep. His "La Beatrice" unfolds the sight—enough to dim the day!—in the very middle of an obscene troupe of wild lascivious spirits, who began to taunt and jeer at him for his dolorous moods and empty songs, of "the proud and peerless beauty of my Queen who laughed with them at all my dark distress." In "Venus and the Fool" (one of his *Little Poems in Prose* and not *Flowers of Evil*) even the motley fool exclaims that he too is made for the "understanding and enjoyment of immortal Beauty." "The Sweetmeat of the Artist" delineates the penetrating power of the close of an autumnal day by its comparison with the painfully penetrating powers of "certain delicious sensations whose vagueness does not prevent them from being intense, and none more keen than the perception of the Infinite." Then he speaks of the musical, picturesque, non-syllogistic **thinking** of solitude, silence, incomparable chastity of the azure and the melodious monotone of the surge but "the insensibility of the sea, the immutability of the spectacle revolt me. Ah, must one eternally suffer," cries out his heart, "for ever be a fugitive from Beauty?" And he concludes with the remark—"The contemplation of Beauty is a duel where the artist screams with Terror before being vanquished."

This bold combination of deathless beauty with things considered generally by men and women as not quite lawful is met with specially in Goethe some of whose writings produced, we know, a heated controversy. Let me just refer here to Goethe's well-known "Confessions of a Fair Soul" in Book VI of his "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship" (1793-96) about which Georg Brandes rightly says, "the spirit of the novel teaches that the road to freedom is through the gateway of beauty."

Even Herder was misled to "set his own humanity based on morality up against Goethe's based on beauty."

Goethe was provoked to write to Schiller—"And in this way, the old, half true, Philistine hurdy-gurdy melody buzzes without ceasing, to the tune that art shall recognise the moral law and subordinate itself to it. It has always done the first and must do so. * * * * * If it did the second, it were lost, and it were better to hang a millstone about its neck and drown it than to let it slowly give up the ghost as the outcome of acquiescence in this [1] utilitarian platitude.'' Natalie is Goethe's concrete embodiment of the *beautiful* soul and Mr. G. H. Lewes very appropriately observes that in these *Confessions* '' the effect of religious convictions on life is subtly delineated in the gradual encroachment and final predominance of mysticism on the mind of one who seemed every way so well fitted for the world.''

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[1] Blake's philosophy kept him, Yeats tells us, "more simply a poet than any poet of his time, for it made him content to express every beautiful feeling that came into his head without troubling about its utility or chaining it to any utility." (Page 134 of "Ideas of Good and Evil"). It is interesting to note how Bergson (in his Laughter, 1912) while

In his essay on *The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry* (1900) Yeats shows how Shelley identifies Beauty, Love and Liberty and then all these with Divine Order, for, the spirit of beauty is equivalent to the spirit of nature which rules over every human heart and how according to Shelley opposition to Beauty results in fear, hatred, fraud, tyranny, decay and death. '' Intellectual Beauty,'' Yeats observes, '' has not only '' (according to Shelley) '' the happy dead to do her will, but ministering spirits who correspond to the Devas of the East, and the Elemental Spirits of mediaeval Europe, and the Sidhe of ancient Ireland * * .'' In the essay on '' William Blake and his Illustrations " (1897) Yeats distinguishes '' the beauty of mere voluptuous softness " from '' the beauty proper for sublime art," and adds that we must learn to separate the divine and eternal part of living things from their satanic and '' infected " part which '' can only be done by desiring always beauty, the one mask through which can be seen the unveiled eyes of eternity.''

Yeats too held about this time of his latest development that '' Beauty[1] is from the antithetical self, and a woman can scarce but hate it, for not only does it demand a painful daily service, but it calls for the denial or the dissolutions of the self.'' [2]

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defining the object of art incidentally refers to Shelley the artist whose passion for Love and Beauty makes him the least *utilitarian* as contrasted with Wordsworth the moral teacher whose emphasis is on duty and who makes action (as opposed to dream, passion, emotion) alone favourable to human evolution.

[1] *Cf.* Autobiographies, etc., 448.

[2] W. B. Nichols in his *Prometheus in Piccadilly* (1927) gives us a fine passage of poetry in the Sermon at the Fountain (Sec. XVII of Part IV entitled " The Tsumpet of Beauty ") showing the function of Beauty in cleansing life (to the sting of which it is a cool leaf)—beauty of which the essence is peace.

It is curious to note how like the Pre-Raphaelite Rossetti, who employed a religious mood in the service of sensuous beauty, this new aesthetic movement combined ideal beauty with sensuous music suggestive of vagabond emotions of an inspired singer which are at once sensual yet mystic and full of a religious tone. The Bohemian Verlaine, a worshipper of Bacchus-Venus, was essentially the musical impressionist of his day in his Romances (1874) which appeal by their exquisitely *suggestive yet elusive blend of sensations and moods.*

As a reaction against Realism and Parnassian[1] technique with its cold, clear-cut statement, this new movement allied to the spirit of English Pre-Raphaelitism used, by preference, haunting music and shadowy images to suggest magic and mystery. Though at first somewhat of an exotic growth (Greek, Belgian and American) more in affinity with the English than the French poetic spirit, its special contribution to French poetics (of the symbolists) was *haunting melody*[2] (*e.g.*, in Verlaine's *Romances sans Paroles*, 1874). The movement began to take shape about 1870 and continued to develop up to 1885 when it was in its flourishing condition. Verlaine was accepted as its poetic representative and Mallarmé as its law-giver. Historically the followers of Verlaine were called by the critics of the day Decadents which really they tended to become after 1884 and which Verlaine too was ready to admit. Mallarmé's followers were strictly speaking the Symbolists—a name given specially by the Greek admirer of Verlaine, Jean Moreas (born 1856), who settled in Paris after 1872 and began to publish his verses in the Reviews of the Latin Quarter.

Imagination.

Verlaine enunciated for the group their poetic creed or formula and they all cultivated or practised what was known as the new Art Poètique. Ostensively they proposed to revolutionise both the art of poetic composition and the standard of critical canons by creating an atmosphere of free and unhampered scope for the development of the poet's individuality[1] in its artistic assertion of the rights of the imagination. "The immediate result of Baudelaire's work (the change produced in literature after the publication in 1857 of *Flowers of Evil*) was," says Sturm, "the Decadent School in French literature. Then the influence spread across the Channel, and the English æsthetes arose to preach the gospel of imagination to the unimaginative." When both Decadence and pure æstheticism reached "the nadir of oblivion, " Symbolism, a greater movement than either, was in the ascendant " promising to be the literature of the future. Symbolist writers " find their defence in the writings of the mystics and their doctrines are at the root of every religion."........."The famous Eliphas Levi, like all the mystics who came before and after him, from Basilides the Gnostic and Blake the English visionary taught that the poet and dreamer are the mediums of the Divine Word."

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[1] *Vide* Yeats's "the Autumn of the Body" (1893).

[2] According to Yeats "the purposes of rhythm is to prolong the moment of contemplation which is the one moment of creation.........to keep us in that state of perhaps real trance in which the mind liberated from the pressure of the will is unfolded in symbols."

The symbolists developed the ideas of Baudelaire as apostles of a new faith seeking for support for their creed the aid of the mystics and of the doctrines of Gnostics, Kabbalists and the Magi. With Blake[2] about 1788-90 " the Poetic genius was the first principle'' and as an 18th century authority of the English Symbolists he put down their creed in the following shape—

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[1] *Cf.* Martin Hearne's words (in " Unicorn from the Stars ") :—" Why did you send the priest to awake me" (*i.e.* from his trance) ? " My soul is my own and my mind is my own. I will send them to where I like. You have no authority over my thoughts." "Imagination," says Yeats, " has some way of lighting on the truth that reason has not " (page 72 of "Ideas of Good and Evil ") and again "compared with the classical imagination the Celtic imagination is indeed the infinite contrasted with the finite" (*Ibid,* page 210). Yeats here follows Blake who holds that reason created ugliness and all other evils (*cf.* "Book of Urizen"). *Vide* also "Ideas of Good and Evil," page 133 (too long to quote).

This, we know, is a well-known trait of both the Romantic School of German Philosophy and all the Romantic poets of the nineteenth century in England or on the Continent. Mystics too have always demanded this as their privilege. Grillparzer in his aphorisms says—" An open Art-sense knows no kinds (of art or poetry) : but only individuals."

[2] Yeats devoted 4 years of very close study along with Ellis to the interpretation of Blake's *Prophetic Books* (about 1889) for which *vide* "Autobiographies, etc." pp. 199-200 and " Ideas of Good and Evil "—" William Blake and the Imagination" (1897).

"The world of imagination is the world of Eternity.......This world of imagination is infinite and eternal, whereas the world of generation or vegetation is finite and temporal. There exist in that eternal world the permanent realities of everything which we see reflected in this vegetable glass of nature.'' His Isaiah asserts in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790), that " his senses discovered the infinite in everything '' and we further learn that " if the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is, infinite.''[1]

According to such doctrines the world of sense perception is the world of illusion and not of reality as the Vedantist holds too. ''Colour, and sound and perfume and all material and sensible things are but the symbols and far-off reflections of the things that are alone real. Reality is hidden away from us by the five senses and the gates of death ; and Reason, the blind and laborious servant of the physical brain, deludes us into believing that we can know anything of truth through the medium of the senses. It is through the imagination alone that man can obtain spiritual revelation, for imagination is the one window in the prison-house of the flesh through which the soul can see the proud images of eternity."[2]

The extreme section of artists demands that the imagination should have a chartered libertine's freedom to roam in the realm of chimeras, for pleasure never is at home. " Imagination is associated entirely with the element of novelty in things, which means, in the literary domain, with the[1] expansive eagerness of a man to get his own uniqueness uttered." Schiller in his aesthetic essays to some extent favours this idea which later on marked the German *die Genie-zeit* (the spirit and age of the *original* genius). Madame de Staël is credited with the idea, pervading all her works, of presenting the conflict between the obstacles and fetters of conventional life and the expansiveness of naïve, primitive, passionate nature. Æsthetes swore by the name of "Temperament" or temperamental urge and tendency to which limits cannot be assigned by any hard-and-fast rule or conventional code, be it a rule or code even of morality. The Ego must have free scope of self-expression, and as Boehme the mystic holds, it is everywhere encompassed by "multiplicity, abysmal, infinite and unfathomable and unsearchable." That alone is creative which is dynamic and emancipation of temperament is a condition precedent to vitality and growth. There is the perpetual renascence of wonder, possibility of variety and manifold differences, born out of the unfathomable depths of the unconscious.[2] All this is intimately connected with the entire **romantic** movement in German philosophy which Professor Santayana condemns as too **egotistic.**[3] The literature of German romanticism was practically the literature showing the general development of the new idea of an expansive, free, unhistorical (*i.e.*, original), detached, romantic Ego which is its own light and which follows nature (and not code or rule) and is at war with reality, caring more for reverie than for action (influenced as it was by Rousseau and Winckelmann).

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[1] *Cf.* Baudelaire's " The Voyage "—

" One morning we set forth with thoughts aflame,
Or heart o'erladen with desire or shame ;
And cradle, to the song of serge and and breeze,
Our own infinity on the finite seas.''

[2] Study of Charles Baudelaire by F. P. Sturm.

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[1] *Cf.* "Poetic imagination alone can guide us beyond the limits of experience. One thing only is certain : that man feels the need of supplementing reality by an ideal world of his own creation, and this creative work brings into play the loftiest and noblest functions of the intelligence." (Prof. Aliotta's *Idealistic Reaction against Science*, p. 14.)

[2] *Vide* "Psychology of the Unconscious," by C. G. Jung.

[3] Following Fichte, Shelley makes the active Ego the centre of the universe even in his comparatively immature Revolt of Islam (*cf.* VII, stanzas XXX to XXXI) and Schelling's idea that "Nature is visible spirit : spirit is invisible Nature " was transmuted by Novalis into a spiritual formula, *viz.*, " Ego is equal to Non-Ego, the highest maxim of all science and art." To Novalis, Schelling and Schleiermacher " the world is indeed the world as self-consciousness builds it."

The Ego stood opposed to Goethe's *culture* ideal and Lessing's *enlightenment* of which history is the record and also his "*pure-mind*" ideal and came into conflict with Nicolai, Engel, Grave and Schütz. Goethe made this Ego submit to natural evolution and he was the champion of a free personality that seeks abundant, full, varied, ever-expansive and all-embracing life (*cf.* Wahrheit-und Dichtung). German romanticism as distinguished from that of France represents longing, aspiration, and so produces no definite figure as by a plastic art and has no definite form but tries to capture infinity in a mood—sometimes represented by characteristic expressions of a symbolic type as in Novalis' *blue flower* or in simply a mystic word or the image of the strange and solitary woods. Each mood, again, has a corresponding psychological background or condition (which is, in its turn, a manifestation of a *soul*) Herder is considered to be the originator of this new romantic spirit of "*purposelessness*" as the characteristic of the romantic genius which, he held, must be intuitive.

It is this spirit which essentially inspires Blake's "Songs of Innocence," Coleridge's devout awe associated with childhood, Wordsworth's semi-Platonic apotheosis of childhood from which the author of the *Biographia Literaria* shrinks back a little, Hugo's adoration of the child and possibly the Carlylean *natural* supernaturalism. This new spirit accentuated the clash and conflict between extremely eccentric and erratic artists condemned straight away as Bohemians and Decadents and staid, sober, over-cautious, decorous, restrained and perhaps a little too conventional critics equally condemned as Philistines.

Decadent.

Like the word "romantic" which in the last quarter of the 18th century stood in the eyes of critics of the pseudo-classic school for something that runs to excess or into the exaggerated and extravagant, something fantastic, grotesque—and even bizarre,[1] or like the word "erotic" which, psycho-analysis complains, managed in the last decade of the 19th century to unfortunately assume an unsavoury meaning—being almost "made synonymous with lust, abnormality, excess and every unpleasant feature in regard to sex matters"—the word *decadent* too during the first quarter of the present century has been misleading critics and readers alike of the literature of symbolism proper. "It was employed," we are told, "as a contemptuous epithet against the apostles of æstheticism about 1880, and subsequently, by the old-fashioned realists and the conservative art-critics." What use is made of it by Max Nordau is a matter of common knowledge to-day. In the eyes of socialism, not to speak of communism or bolshevism, all aristocrats and even the upper middle class are "decadents" and Tolstoy in his "What is Art?" has his fling at the art appreciated and idolised by the upper ten. In his condemnation of what Tolstoy calls "the counterfeits of art" Wagner's operas and "decadent" poets come in for more than their legitimate share of the author's witty criticisms and sarcasm. There is some risk in the Tolstoian attitude of his enthusiastic disciples of a very popular folk-song being placed on par with a Beethoven Sonata!

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[1] *Cf.* even the attitude of Professor Babbit in his discussion of "The Terms Classic and Romantic" (pages 10-11 of *Rousseau and Romanticism*).

In speaking specifically of the French decadent school of poetry it is Paul Verlaine whom the critics have almost unanimously kept in view and by decadents they mean more or less a class of poets who "lead us down a hot-house whose atmosphere, large, sensuous and forced blossoms render sickly and oppressive." Mr. F. P. Sturm says in "Charles Baudelaire—a Study"—"Baudelaire *is* decadence; his art (which is the expression of his decadence) is not a mere literary affectation, a mask of sorrow to be thrown aside when the curtain falls, but the voice of an imagination plunged into the contemplation of all the perverse and fallen loveliness of the world; that finds beauty most beautiful at the moment of its passing away, and regrets its perishing with a so poignant grief that it must needs follow it even into the narrow grave where those "dark comrades, the worms, without ears, without eyes,'' whisper their secrets of terror and tell of yet another pang—

> '' For that old body without soul and a
> Corpse among corpses.''***

''An art like this,'' he continues, ''rooted in a so tortured perception of the beauty and ugliness of a world where the spirit is mingled indistinguishably with the flesh, almost inevitably concerns itself with material things, with all the subtle raptures the soul feels, not by abstract contemplation, for that would mean content, but through the gateway of the senses[1] ; the lust of the flesh, the delight of the eye : Sound, colour, odour, form : to him these are not the symbols that lead the soul towards the infinite—they are the soul ; they are the infinite.'' But unlike those later writers who have been called realists, he apprehends, to borrow a phrase from Pater, ''all these finer conditions wherein material things rise to that subtlety of operation which constitutes them spiritual, where only the finer nerve and the keener touch can[2] follow.'' .... Baudelaire's '' The

[1] *Cf.* the Decadent's ultra-sensuousness and ultra-artificiality and Blake's idea of Nature being Satan's will. (*Vide* also his '' Israel delivered from Egypt,'' Oxford edition, p. 428.)

[2] *Cf.* Verlaine's '' My Familiar Dream '' and '' The Effect of Night.'' *Cf.* also Baudelaire's typical piece, '' The Voyage,'' which illustrates a curious combination of a romantic quest of a fancied haven of joyous repose for the wearied and worn-out voyagers in life's sea (like Shelley in his Euganean Hills poem) with intense unsatisfied yearning and a nameless desire that goads man on till disillusionment follows producing despair and pessimism. '' The pageant of the rolling world ''—'' the weary pageant of immortal sin ''—is made to unfold itself before our disillusioned gaze. We are, after all, '' poor seekers after lands that flee ! '' '' dreaming the paradise of our own desires '' and

> '' The lights that on the violet sea poured down,
> The suns that set behind some far-off town,
> Lit in our hearts the unquiet wish to fly
> Deep in the glimmering distance of the sky.''

But, alas, '' go where we will, the slayer goes there too ! ''
Even then—

> '' Our hearts are full of light and will not fail.''

> '' The fire within the heart so burns up
> That we would wander Hell and Heaven through;
> Deep in the unknown seeking something *new*.''

Flowers of Evil " are poems " not only original in themselves but have been the cause of originality in others; they are the root of modern French literature and much of the best English literature; they are the origin of that new method in poetry that gave Mallarmé and Verlaine to France; Yeats and some others to England." .... " Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* were but wan derivatives from Baudelaire."

Now, what Baudelaire did for French literature (or rather poetry) Aubrey Beardsley, who also created a little panic among art-critics, did for art—" the perfecting of symbols to shadow forth intellectual sin, the tearing away of the decent veil of forgetfulness that hides our own corruption from our eyes." " Every Philistine in France," we learn, " joined in the cry against a poet (*i.e.*, Baudelaire) who dared to mind his readers that the grave awaits even the rich," for Baudelaire could never " resist an easy path into the world of *macabre*[1] visions."

About 1894 when Yeats, back again in London, lived in close touch with Symons he too was tormented by anxiety due to the way in which he and his associates " were despised yet envied." He describes in his *Autobiographies* how the Philistines backed by the popular press of the day, so full of unction, formed a regular conspiracy against his plan of a Review and Magazine (" The Savoy ") to be edited by Symons with illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley. But these men were then " suspect " and were supposed to prosper actually upon iniquity! The set consisted then of Yeats, Symons, Max Beerbohm, Bernard Shaw, E. Dowson, L. Johnson, Ch. Conder, Ch. Shannon, Havelock Ellis, S. Image and Joseph Conrad. Yeats formulated his reply to the objectors thus—" Like Science, Literature now demands the right of exploration of all that passes before the mind's eye and merely because it passes."[2]

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[1] *Cf.* " The Corpse " in his *Flowers of Evil.*

[2] In the chapter on " Some Psycho-analysis and Literary Criticism " (Ch. XIII) we read—" Psycho-analysis will put in a new light the old literary controversies between

The opponent's retort was something to the following purpose :—

"Why explore the forbidden and why do so (unlike Ibsen with a high moral purpose) gaily, if not ostentatiously, out of sheer joy in mischief or delight in that unrestrained play of the mind? Donne, for example, was metaphysical without being like Shelley unhuman and hysterical."

Yeats did not carry matter to the extreme like Baudelaire or Verlaine. He therefore admitted that he detected in his own **early** work already abandoned, as in that of many writers of his generation, "a *slight* sentimental sensuality" which is disagreeable and does not exist in Donne but, he explained, Donne being freely permitted to say whatever he pleased had not to linger or pretend to linger between spirit and sense." Here we have a sort of enunciation of Yeats's literary creed.

Brief Historical Survey.

In 1884 appeared, in French, short biographical studies of notable personalities with brilliant critical estimates under the title of "Les Poètes Maudits[1]" issued by Paul Verlaine and also "Les Hommes d'Aujourd'hui" containing twenty-seven short biographies. An announcement regarding these brief critical biographies occurs in Verlaine's original edition of "Les Mémoires d'un Veuf" of 1886. The satirical newspaper **Lutece**, published by a new generation of authors who attacked as antiquated those whom

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realism and idealism, between classicism and romanticism.......We prefer a book that tells of repressions such as we have experienced.......The great love felt by the young man who does not fit into the social order, for writers like Whitman, Ibsen, Nietzsche, Shaw and others, is because these writers approve an individualism that he seeks to cultivate...... Baudelaire loved Poe because in him he saw another dreamer out of accord with reality, a victim of drink and drugs, a sufferer at the hands of women, an artist loving beauty and refusing to be a reformer.... The French decadents found affinities with ancient authors, specially the Roman poets of the Silver Age, Petronius and Apuleius. Oscar Wilde, Dowson, and Arthur Symons in our literature belong to the group who found themselves in harmony with the French decadents."

Dowson's poem "Cynara" is frankly sexual in which the "*decadent*" shows how his sexual repression finds an outlet. (*Vide* Freud's "Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex.")

[1] Rimband, Corbiere and Jammes specially deserve the name.

the year 1870 divided from the rising young writers, marked the dawn of Symbolism and the approaching entry of the "Decadents."

The 1884 edition of the "Poets Accursed" contained notices of Corbière, Rimbaud and Mallarmé to which became added (for the 2nd edition of 1888) those of Marceline Desbordes-Valmore ("a virgin dropped into a house of debauch"), Villiers-de-L'Isle Adam, and "Pauvre Lélian" (*i.e.*, Paul Verlaine).

Verlaine's prose essays were sent to the editor-in-chief of **Lutece** (Leo Trézenek) which made him acquainted with the publisher Léon Vanier who brought these out as "Les Poètes Maudits"—who are practically the same as *Les Vilains Bonshommes*" of Victor Cochinat's satirical article on the Parnassians who assembled at Ricard's *salon*, in 1871.

Most of the poets belonging to the group referred to in this series of literary biographies were extravagantly wild lyrists afflicted with strange visions whose chief poetic merit consisted in their command over melodious rhythm.[1] To this feature of the new school of poetic art may even be attributed in part the renascence in the artistic poetry of Belgium where Baudelaire's method was continued by Rodenbach, Giraud and Gilkin and where Verhaeren was powerfully affected by Wagner. Another Belgian poet, Albert Mockel (1866—), makes use in his verse of rhythmic notations and describes "The Girl" as "all music, in the music of her movements bathed" and in his "Song of Running Water" makes the water say—

> "Breezes, trills of songbirds warbling with a breast that wells,
> All that lives and makes the forest ring retells
> The melody I murmur to my tall reed-grasses,
> Airy music that its spirit glasses."

Chief among these new poets were Gerard de Nerval (1808-55), Arthur Rimbaud (1854-91), Villiers de L'Isle Adam

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[1] In his essay on "The Symbolism of Poetry" (1900) Yeats elaborates his distinction between what he calls "energetic" rhythms (the invention of the will) and "organic" rhythms (the embodiment of the imagination, "which only wishes to gaze upon some reality, some beauty.").

(1838-89), Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-92) and Paul Verlaine (1844-96).

These were more or less followed with admiration by Albert Giraud, Iwan Gilkin, Maurice Maeterlinck, Emile Verhaeren, Georges Rodenbach (in Belgium), the Greek Jean Moreas, the American-French Stuart Mervill and Francis Vielé-Griffin, and (in France proper) Jules Laforgue, Gustave Kahn and Henri de Régnier. Laforgue like Rimbaud is a decadent-ultra-symbolist and Kahn more a theoretician than a poet (after the fashion of Mallarmé).

Characteristics.

The organs of the Symbolists in France were *La Renaissance*, *La Plume* and *Mercure de France* and the main result achieved was a change in versification (and extensive use of *vers libre*) advocated particularly by Kahn in *Le Symboliste* (another organ of the new poetical movement). Kahn like Yeats is rich in rhythmical elements and in the "embroidery" of dreams.

In the estimate of Régnier (whose verses were first published in 1885 in *Lutèce* and whom Mallarmé well-nigh fascinated) the characteristics of Symbolism are imaginative splendour, use of emblems of glory and regret, rich imagery, suggestive vagueness, enchantment of dreams, mystery of[1] the ideal, high-flown love, infinite melancholy[2] and an environment of secret *correspondences* of things.

Prof. Irving Babbit makes fun of some of the qualities mentioned above, in his strong sarcastic language, connecting them with Rousseauistic ultra-romanticism and ascribing them to the "dodging of moral responsibility" by *the poète maudit.*[3] Critics less adverse have, however, to admit that singularity was affected by the Symbolists to such an extent as to justify a revolt in men accustomed to classical ideals. Individualism carried to excess and freed from all restraint leads to "the will to be *oneself* to the verge of mental[1] insulation." This attitude of mental insulation seems to have grown upon Yeats in spite of his extraordinarily wide sympathies and the extensive range of his interests, as we have[2] noticed even in his latest volume of poems entitled "The Tower" (1928). Poetic self-expression under such a condition loses universal validity and appeal, reducing itself to mere triumph of the arbitrary and perilously running the risk of a surrender to the tyranny of *a mood* which may, on occasions, be, after all, a fugitive experience, however æsthetic in character it may be. Belief in the correspondence between the sensible world and the spiritual world, based on elusive affinity of subtle feeling and indefinable sensations with the ever-shifting face of the external world, is also carried too far and poetic self-revelation regulated, and even sometimes induced and actuated, by such a faith necessarily becomes with the majority of uninitiated poetry readers something unconvincing as an artistic creed or formula. The result of such an art principle appears to be well expressed in the Introductory Essay to "A Century of French Poets" where the writer says—"And where the enthronement of mood and the exclusive pursuit of the sub-conscious and the ineffable, the deliberate instability of structure, measure and rhythm, the raising into a system of those discrete occasional effects which poets before this time had drawn from the casual and secret memories of words enhancing their own value—wherever these things have been as tyrannous in practice as in precept, they have produced as yet nothing full, nothing whole, nor majestic, nor even faultless; little enough that by virtue of a subtler kind atones for the want of order and light.''

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[1] *Cf.* Verlaine's "Twilight of Mystic Evening,"

[2] *Cf.* Baudelaire's "Balcony" in *Flowers of Evil*, and the very spirit of Verlaine's "Poèmes Saturniens" (1866) especially of poems like "Eugene Carrière," "Vow" and "To a Woman."

[3] *Vide* "Rousseau and Romanticism," Ch. IX.

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[1] *Cf.* Verlaine's theory of the *Impassibles* which prescribes to poets of the new school the isolation of the ivory tower shutting out the clamours of the crowd as much as the activities of citizens and statesmen as too violent and obscene. "The priest of the beautiful has the blue sky for altar and infinity for temple," for "dream must not take part in action" and all vulgar efforts of democratic modern society must leave the poet-artist unmoved in his artistic *abstraction* as if he is a veritable *bonze* of art (reminding us of Keatsian æsthetic self-sufficiency and presenting by way of contrast the counterpart of Wordsworth's moral monasticism at Rydal Mount).

[2] *Vide* Calcutta Review (page 367) of June, 1928.

Yeats, as we have already seen, though once intimately connected with this new literary movement, did not succumb to its influence. He is one of the group of those who, while sharing with the eccentric wild talents in the French literary world of the last quarter of the nineteenth century whatever was fascinating, full of wonder and delicately suggestive in French symbolism, at the same time preserved sufficient artistic independence, originality and personality to be able to utilise the rich potency of this new agency ''for rendering certain half-tones of sentiment, a day-dream of tenderness, a diffused nostalgia, desires[1] without a name and sorrows older than they.''[2]

But like Yeats, Verlaine too was a poet of supreme moments of inspiration, of impressions and the latter's absinthe habit reminds us of Yeats and the *hashish* he took with some followers of the 18th century mystic Saint-Martin[3] (*vide* Autobiographies, Book IV, Ch. XX). Verlaine's poem '' Charleroi '' (in *Paysages Belges*) is a representative piece recording his exquisite feeling of mystery. Poetry with Verlaine was too much of a decorative art as it was with Yeats too when his sole concern was, as he tells us, with '' embroideries '' to which I have already referred.[4] Verlaine was never a true mystic like Yeats—nay, he was rather an Epicurean with just a touch of the mystic in him who like Blake best succeeded when giving expression to fugitive emotional flashes appropriate to the poetic art in terms of the painter's art and lost sight of ethical distinctions in the intense beauty of *erotic* dreams. And though of imagination all compact he, like Shelley, was an eternal *child* never troubled, in Coppée's language, by the dread that the butterfly of desire so intensely pursued might crumble to dust under his very fingers !

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

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[1] '' In the intensity of ecstasy desire becomes wisdom without ceasing to be desire '' ('' Ideas of Good and Evil,'' p. 55).

[2] '' A Century of French Poets,'' p. 63.

[3] *Cf.* '' The Cutting of an Agate,'' pp. 87-90 (Essay called *Discoveries*; 1906).

[4] *Vide* Calcutta Review of March (page 283) and May (page 147).

BABY'S WORLD

Little baby, darling mine
Whither thy mind's glad swift design?
What do those shining eyes define
In this new world?

Do the stars have speech with thee
And the little clouds so high and free
Does the rainbow's ecstasy
Caress thy smile?

Oh the wonder-world of thy baby mind
Has visions that I cannot find
My care-worn eyes are often blind
But thou canst see!

Is it realms of kings of sound
Where strange sweet sights abound,
And from the magic ground
Is new delight?

Reason can own elastic laws,
And Fact can hide her many flaws,
If God show Truth for wild applause
To Baby's world!

MILDRED EVANS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE BURDWAN DISTRICT TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

DEAR COMRADES,

The call to preside over your deliberations was a call from comrades of the same profession and I had to obey. The choice is yours and if the person on whom your choice has fallen is found unequal to the task, the blame should also rest on you. For after all, there are persons in the educational ranks who are more seasoned veterans, certainly many who are safer. I am still youngish : a fighter—and in this hoary country of philosophic tolerance and comfortable inertia, such small virtues as a person of my antecedents might be supposed to possess are often at a discount.

And yet, brothers, I may claim with honesty that throughout my career, both in and outside the charmed pale of Government service, I have steadfastly tried consciously to hold the banner aloft, to stand up for the dignity of our cloth, to justify the integrity and nobility of the teacher's vocation. It is as a sacred trust we must hold it—the lure of preferment, the temptation of riches, the waving of flags and the shouting of the multitude are not for us. Suffering is the badge of our tribe; infinite patience and forbearance are demanded of us. We are vowed to comparative poverty and obscurity. And yet we are the real builders of the nation that lives in the cottages and swarms out into the busy, bustling cities. We build up well-knit, sinewy bodies; we hammer and beat souls into shape; in the play-fields of our schools are the future soldiers of the people formed; in our debating unions orators and statesmen pass through their first apprenticeships; in our libraries the future scholars and researchers inspire the first lessons of disinterested pursuit of truth. It is we who instil into budding minds the sap of sacrifice and inject into the nerves and the ganglia the burning iodine of patriotism. The creation of the efficient worker, the breeding of the right type of citizen is our task. There is the continued drudge of the mechanical teaching; there is the sweat of preparing and finishing up for public examinations; official red-tape and the over-zealous inspector with his rule-of-thumb advice and peremptory orders have to be countered and shunted; the money-compensation is often very shadowy and the wages are more often than not starvation wages—and the school-room is often dingy and damp and over-crowded and the mixed Committees of management often are more of a nuisance than a help; in the villages there are the petty factions, in the towns there are the bigger cliques; public sympathy and appreciation is often a broken reed to lean upon—in the beginning and in the middle and in the end, there is an atmosphere of enervation, of atrophy, of narrow minds, of prevarications and evasions. I am of the soil and know about it all. And yet I have not lost faith and I am sure you have not lost faith in the mission of the teacher; for after all, *ideas* rule civilisations and men who create ideas and men who sow them broadcast, the creators of ideas and the purveyors of them, constitute a group that will abide and help nations and cultures forward through dark days of depression.

You and I belong to such a group and so long as in the mass we hold on to our ideals and hand down to posterity the traditions and sanctities of the past and the freshness and urge of the present, we shall never go under. That teachers in Bengal are not going under but coming up is evidenced by the growing organisations of teachers of all grades all the country over.

Your organisation has now fairly established itself; it is already a power for good; its suggestions are finding acceptance; its journal is being widely read; its meetings and resolutions are receiving wide publicity in the press. You have begun well and as soon as your district organisations are so perfected that every teacher falls into line and registers himself in your books as a member and begins to take an active interest in the organisation, the all-Bengal organisation is bound to be a pivotal institution on which Directors and Inspectors and even Ministers of Education will have increasingly to depend for lead in all constructive reform.

Reform is badly wanted in the educational sphere, as much in the top as in the bottom. The secondary schools are the feeders of our colleges and professional institutions and the way they are neglected is a sad commentary on the priggish inefficiency that rules the educational roost in this country. More is spent on inspection work than on the schools themselves: and the supervisors in the districts are ordered about by super-supervisors in the metropolis, many of whom are aliens to the tongue and aliens to the soil, who understand precious little of the country's culture and socio-economics. The spectacle is not rare, even in these days, when a Director of Public Instruction runs amok and talks of abolishing mind-culture and concentrating exclusively on building up of fibre and muscle as if the problem of education was the problem of the gymnasium merely. There are educational officers (aliens again!) who would force a knowledge of the king's English down our throats by esoteric processes and talk glibly of the inefficient teaching of English in the schools by my countrymen. I have myself learnt some little English and taught it to higher grades of students in many of the big centres of collegiate education in Bengal; I have travelled a bit outside and taken the measure of other provinces; I have had occasion to tackle some Englishmen themselves here and there and I make bold to say that on the average Bengal has done and is doing quite well in this matter of the acquirement of the English tongue. I don't say matters are not capable of improvement but much water has run down both the Thames and the Ganges since English Education was imposed on this country seventy year ago and now the times are ripe for a wider and saner outlook as to the whole range of the theory and practice of Education.

The time has come when we should boldly assert that the old system has become time-worn and rusty and must be replaced by a new. Language and Literature have to be properly taught and learnt—but they should not dominate the whole theory and practice. All our teaching in every grade must be, if the nation is to live and grow and assert itself in fruitful thought and activity, *through the mother tongue as far as possible* and more stress should be laid on the teaching of the vernacular than on the teaching of English. In the days to come, high-grade English will be required only by the politician, the diplomat, the advanced student of Science and Letters but for the rank and file, a bread-winning education system has to be devised where mind and muscle, intellect and sense-organs will co-operate to produce more crops from the soil, to dig out more minerals from the depths of Earth, to spin and weave more cotton and silk, to tan more leather, to make more soaps and matches, to work at the forge and the furnace. The controversy to-day is no longer between the occidentalist and the orientalist—the choice is no longer between Sanskrit and Arabic on one side and English on the other. The controversy is between mere literacy and literary training on the one hand and practical Science and technical efficiency on the other. So the whole basis of Education has to be reshuffled and enlarged—and a scientific and industrial bias given to it.

Every city school must have provision for some elementary teaching of mechanics, hydraulics and electricity and the understanding and comprehension of machinery; and in village centres, special facilities must be opened up for practical farming, dairying and various forms of regional cottage industry.

Physical training must be made everywhere compulsory; and music and drawing lessons should be provided for wherever possible. And elementary lessons in civics should supplement these features.

This means spending a lot of more money both on teachers and on equipment and this money has got to be found by pooling the resources of both the State and the people and by retrenchment of wasteful and unnecessary expenditure in the Police, Engineering and other Departments.

And as an apex to this movement for better schools, the country should press for real and advanced Poly-technic Institutes situated close to big industrial centres where skilled leaders of industry should be trained up.

Brothers, you may have understood by now that I am no believer in the cult of *no machinery*. We are living in an age of machine-civilisation and we cannot shunt ourselves away from the world's currents of progress. We must beat the Westerner at his own game or else be swamped out of existence or contented to live as mere serfs and bondsmen. The machine is after all not our God: man makes the machine and should be its master and not its slave. This will be possible when there will be thousands of skilled machine-men, men who will hold the key-positions in all manufactures and industries and as such be admitted to co-partnership and equality with the capitalist. A time is coming when even more copious and continuous streams of western capital will flow into this country, the country-sides will be dotted with factories blowing out giant puffs of smoke and working at high pressure with electricity and steam. Should we then be mere suppliers of clerks and coolies to these new organisations or should we be able to say to them: "You are here; you are welcome; for *you* may supply the capital but *we* shall supply the skilled brains and the trained hands and thus have practical control over you?" And how, I ask you, dear friends, is such a consummation to be brought nearer unless by a radical, revolutionary change of the theory and practice of Education?

I request you with all the emphasis I can command to educate public opinion in the rural areas with regard to such matters and to make the popularisation of this idea an outstanding plank of your propaganda, so far as the central organisation is concerned.

You understand well enough that the programme I have sketched in brief will never be pushed through except by *a strong national government under a vigilant democratic vote.* And this brings me to the next point of my discourse, *viz., the relation between Education and Politics.* Some of you may feel that I am treading rather perilous ground but you will pardon me if I take courage in both hands and present for your criticism certain thoughts that are uppermost in my own mind.

Comrades, Education and Politics can never be divorced, for the simple reason that Education is the art of *making* men and Politics the art of *ruling* men. Those who arrogate the rule have ever in the world's history sought to enforce the moulds and patterns along which men should be made. In our own country also, educational needs have been subordinated to the exigencies of administrative necessity and the Universities and schools functioning under them have sought to train up a race of men fitted more for mechanical and subordinate work in the political machine than for original and creative work demanding push and initiative. There was a stage when the imitation European, the *Kalá Feringee* strutted about on the country's highways and bye-ways in borrowed feathers, the mind, a *tabula rasa* cram-full of ill-assorted western ideas and the garb, a fit expression and reflection of that abnormal mind. The genius of the Race has, however, triumphed over this degeneration; but yet we are a long way off the complete recovery of our racial and cultural self. The educational effort of the country must consciously be bent towards this supreme cultural recovery and this can never be done by swearing allegiance to a new political ideology. We have long enough rejoiced in singing to the strains of the British National Anthem and taken pride in saluting the Union Jack, the mighty flag of a mighty Empire over which the Sun never sets! Let us learn and teach our boys to sing the *Bande Mataram* anthem with full-chested pride and if we must perforce salute the Union Jack, let us hang up our national tri-color flag in proud equality alongside and give our own flag the first salute. Let us not betray the sanctity of our profession by preaching false and biassed hatred of the alien and by making him responsible for all the ills to which we are heirs; but let us also have the courage never to bend low before the tyranny of unashamed brute force and to teach false history, false philosophy and dwarfed patriotism to our boys, forsooth that way pelf and titles and might crowd on us!

In the broad country to-day, there are two clearly marked political parties—the party of the alien Government backed up as much by bullets and bayonets as by the acquiescence, honest or dishonest, as it may be, of numbers of our countrymen in high places and low—and the people's party which finds organised and massed expression in the Indian National Congress and auxiliary Bodies and which has before it a high-soaring ideal of freedom and behind it much store of sacrifice and suffering and activity and almost untold reserves of mass-energy. The party to which I belong is well-known but I have come to you here as an educationist, pure and simple, and I would ask you for the present to stand aloof from active political entanglements, to organise your resources, to educate public opinion about education and social work, to bide your time, to critically watch movements and to be ready for *the supreme call* when it does come, as come it will and rather sooner than later. For the present, your field is clearly chalked out for you. You have to drill and organise your students for purposeful social service work—the service of the diseased and afflicted, the bringing of relief to the famished and the starving, the spread of elementary education—of the three R's among the teeming masses. You have to organise and agitate for better wages for yourselves, for provident fund facilities, for protection against unjustified dismissals, for better representation on education Bodies from the University Senate down to your School Committees. You have to make your Schools the seed-plots of life-giving service and life-creating hope. And if after doing all this you have time left for extra political work in your areas through the local Self-Government Bodies or Union Boards or Congress Committees, I wish you Godspeed and ask you to push forward. For Activity is the soul of Freedom—activity based on right knowledge and harnessed to Truth. It is through such activity that the national soul will rediscover itself! May you be organs of such disinterested tireless service—may you work while it is Day, for the Night cometh wherein no man may work! *Bande Mataram*!

NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI

Reviews

The Glories of Magadha—Prof. J. N. Samaddar, Patna, Rs. 8.

The fact that within the short period of two years Professor Samaddar's learned work, *The Glories of Magadha*, has undergone a second edition, proves its excellence. In its present shape it has been thoroughly revised, enlarged and brought up to date, while the addition of 26 plates, some of which are published for the first time, add very much to its value and utility. Indeed, those who possess the first edition cannot be without the present one, which, though speaking of the glories of Magadha, really gives us a graphic and valuable picture of the culture of ancient India. The fact that the work has been produced while the author was severely ill shows his enthusiasm for scholarship, and we wish him a long career of usefulness so that he may bring out some more excellent works of this type.

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Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting—Rao Bahadur S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University.—Demy pp., xxxv+235—published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London.

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar is too well known in the field of Indian History and Archæology to require any further introduction. His recent volume has but added to the obligation under which the world of scholars had remained to him. The Maṇimekhalai is one of the great Tamil classical poems and is closely related to the Sangam works, which hold so prominent a place in the classical Tamil literature. The learned doctor has given us a running translation of the work, together with a number of introductory chapters in which he has discussed the nature of the poem, its historical character, the historical conclusions to be drawn therefrom, and a summary of the information which the work furnishes on the philosophical systems of Southern India at the time of the composition of the poem.

Without going into details, we may say with great confidence that the edition of the Maṇimekhalai as well as the critical introduction discussing the various philosophical systems as described by the great preceptor of the heroine will be of grea value to Indologists working in diverse fields. The information supplied by the poem on the Vaidika systems will go to help scholars in finding out the identity of the earliest Vṛttikāra on the Mīmāṁsā as well as the personality of Bodhāyana. Similarly, the data furnished by the XIX-XXXth chapters will prove invaluable in clearing the mystery about the life and real teachings of Diṅnāga, the Buddhist logician. The importance of the Maṇimekhalai data has been recognised by so eminent a scholar as Dr. Jacobi, and his criticisms embodied in the volume are worth noticing. Dr. Aiyangar's replies thereto also find place in the same volume, and though no final conclusion can be drawn at present, they are very able and pointed and show his remarkable acumen and insight into details. The early history of Indian philosophical schools, both Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic, is yet to be written and for that we are to glean facts from tradition in the absence of recorded history. What is true of the Mīmāṁsā or the Vedānta is true of Buddhism, and the Maṇimekalai offers much material for the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism prior to the rise of Mahāyāna and the later schools.

As regards the historical data, no one can deny the importance of those furnished by the book, and they have been critically noticed by Dr. Aiyangar. His views on the Chola interregnum before the Pallava supremacy at Kañchi and the interpretation of Gurjara, are interesting. For all this Dr. Aiyangar deserves our best congratulations.

A History of India (Part I, Hindu India)—by C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, with an introduction by Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., of the Lucknow University.—Demy, pp. 260—published by Srinivasa Varadachari, Madras.

Within the narrow compass of nearly 250 pages, the two learned authors present a comprehensive sketch of Hindu India. The special feature of the book is that due attention has been paid to the history of Southern India, and we have at the end of each period short chapters giving brief accounts of institutional and cultural history of particular regions or dynasties. Thus, we have sections dealing with Vedic religion and culture, a picture of life described in the Jātaka stories, a summary of the Maurya administration, a short account of the political system of the states in the extreme south, and, towards the close of the book, an account of early Dravidian religion together with the teaching of the great South Indian religious reformers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. The authors pretend to have very little originality to their credit, but they have embodied the results of the most up-to-date research in the field of political or social History. The language is good and the printing and get-up of the book is commendable. We have no hesitation in recommending the book to college students, especially those appearing for the Intermediate or the B.A., Examination.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

THE LATE BABU SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

We mourn to-day the death of a distinguished scholar, great educationist and versatile writer, Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, who passed away on the 23rd of June, 1928, at the ripe old age of 90. Born on the 4th of June, 1838, Babu Syamacharan took his B.A. degree from the Presidency College in 1860, and Bengal will remember him as one of the earliest and most brilliant graduates of the Calcutta University. Being of a shy, retiring disposition, he was averse to everything connected with Law Courts and preferred to enter the poorly paid Provincial (then called Subordinate) Educational Service in January, 1862. He held the following appointments in succession: Head Masterships of the Maldah, Arrah and Chapra Zila Schools; Lectureship (no Indian used to be called a Professor then) in Philosophy, Logic and English in the Sanskrit College; Head Mastership of the Uttarpara Government School and ultimately Principalship of the Uttarpara College on its establishment. After more than thirty-four years of "long and valuable service to the State," coupled with ability of a very high order, he retired on pension in 1897. His work as a teacher and educationist was highly appreciated by such famous persons as S. W. Fallon, C. J. Jackson, Bhoodeb Mookerji and Mr. Oldham, the then senior Member of the Board of Revenue, who aptly described him as the "Arnold of Bengal."

In spite of his frail health, he contributed, while in service, six articles to the Calcutta Review, the first and most important of which was "Bengali, Spoken and Written," which, in the opinion of Sir Roper Lethbridge, was "one of the best and most original essays" that had "ever been published in the Review." The articles he contributed to the periodicals covered a remarkable variety of subjects, as the titles of a few of them will show:—The Direct Method of Teaching Foreign Languages, Devanagari as the Common Script for India, Romanization of All Indian Writing, The International Phonetic Script, Esperanto *versus* English Internationalized, Reform of Fighting in Courts of Law, the Partition of Bengal, Self-Determination and India's Future Political Status, Steps towards Reduction of Armaments, Steps towards a World Federation, the Teutonic, Latin and Slavonic Races of Popular Ethnology, and India's two Great gifts to the World. A selection of his writings has been published in book form by Messrs. Luzac & Co., under the title "Essays and Criticisms." His mental activity and balanced opinion even in his decaying years, his "clarity and vigour of thought," the "purity and perfection of his English style" were remarkable traits at which eminent savants such as C. B. Cowell, Alfred Croft and George Grierson were held spell-bound.

A polytheist early in life, he soon came to believe in one God. To him a First Cause, *i.e.*, a cause which is uncaused, was conceivable. The Universe or Kosmos, which consists of all phenomena *plus* the Power at their back, is, according to him, identical with the all-pervading conception of God. He condemned the natural tendency in the human mind to exalt consciousness and deprecate matter. A man of very strict moral principles, with a sense of justice extraordinarily developed, a close follower of the excellent Hindu ideal of "Plain living and high thinking," his life will go down to posterity as an ideal to be striven for by teachers and students alike.

He has left a modest Trust Fund for help to the needy of his native village Garalgacha, in the Hooghly, district, and in 1921 he made over to this University Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000 for creation of an endowment for the award of two annual money prizes.

He leaves behind two sons, four grandsons and three granddaughters, with whom the deepest sympathy will be felt in their great bereavement.

* * *

Dr. Taraknath Das.

Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., who is a regular contributor to our Review has sent from Venice a communication on the very important subject of exchange of Professors and research students between the Calcutta University and such German Universities as are eager and willing to foster cultural relations between Germany and India. He quotes from the London Times of 21st April, 1928, the following interesting educational advertisement :—

"Research Scholarships tenable at the following German Universities : Frankfort, Hamburg, Munich, Morburg, Heidelberg, will be available for the year 1928-29. Each student will receive free maintenance (or an equivalent allowance) and free tuition. Candidates should be male graduates of an English University and should send their applications to the Board ("Anglo-German Academic Board) through the Vice-Chancellor of their University or through the Head of their College. Applications must include a statement of the research work the candidate proposes to undertake and the University he would prefer."

Dr. Das proposes that steps should be taken towards the formation of an Indo-German Academic Board like this Anglo-German one and refers to several serious discussions he had the opportunity of holding during his recent visit to and stay in Germany with a number of German Professors and educational authorities on the possibility and desirability of Indo-German cultural co-operation. He concludes with an appeal to the Calcutta University authorities—especially those entrusted with the responsibility of Post-Graduate studies—for taking the initiative in a matter of such vital importance and we strongly endorse his opinion that all educationists should be deeply interested in the prospect of such an educational enterprise.

* * *

RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

Preliminary Scientific M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 200, of whom 129 passed, 67 failed, 1 was expelled and 3 were absent.

First M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 196, of whom 93 passed, 97 failed, one was expelled and 5 were absent.

Second M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 233, of whom 139 passed, 94 failed, none were expelled and none were absent.

Third M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Third M.B. Examination was 20, of whom 6 passed, 11 failed, 2 were absent and 1 passed in Hygiene only.

Final M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the Examination was 65, of whom 32 passed, 30 failed, none were expelled and 3 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the Examination was 2, of whom none passed, 2 failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the Examination was 195, of whom 137 passed, 153 failed, 4 were absent and 1 was expelled. Of the unsuccessful candidates, 19 passed in Hygiene, and 17 in Medical Jurisprudence.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (Old) of the Examination was 1, who failed but passed in Hygiene.

The number of candidates registered for Final M.B. (New Regulations) Examination was 219, of whom 63 passed, 153 failed, 2 were absent, and 1 was expelled. Of the successful candidates, 1 obtained Honours in Midwifery and 2 were declared to be eligible for admission to the Honours Examination in Midwifery.

Of the successful candidates at the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations), 14 failed in Pathology at the Second M.B. Examination and 1 failed in Forensic Medicine at the Third M.B. Examination, and they are, therefore, declared not to have passed the Final M.B. Examination completely.

B.Sc.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,258, 1,191 of whom actually appeared, of whom 589 were successful, 50 were absent, 8 were expelled and 594 failed. Of the successful candidates, 481 were placed on the Pass List and 108 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 16 were placed in the First Class, and 92 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 106 passed with Distinction: the percentage of pass is 49.

Matriculation.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 15,508, of whom 94 were absent and 28 were expelled; of the remaining 15,388 candidates, 10,386 passed, of whom 5,258 were placed in First Division, 4,369 in the Second, 730 in the Third Division and 29 passed in one subject only, the percentage of pass being 67·4.

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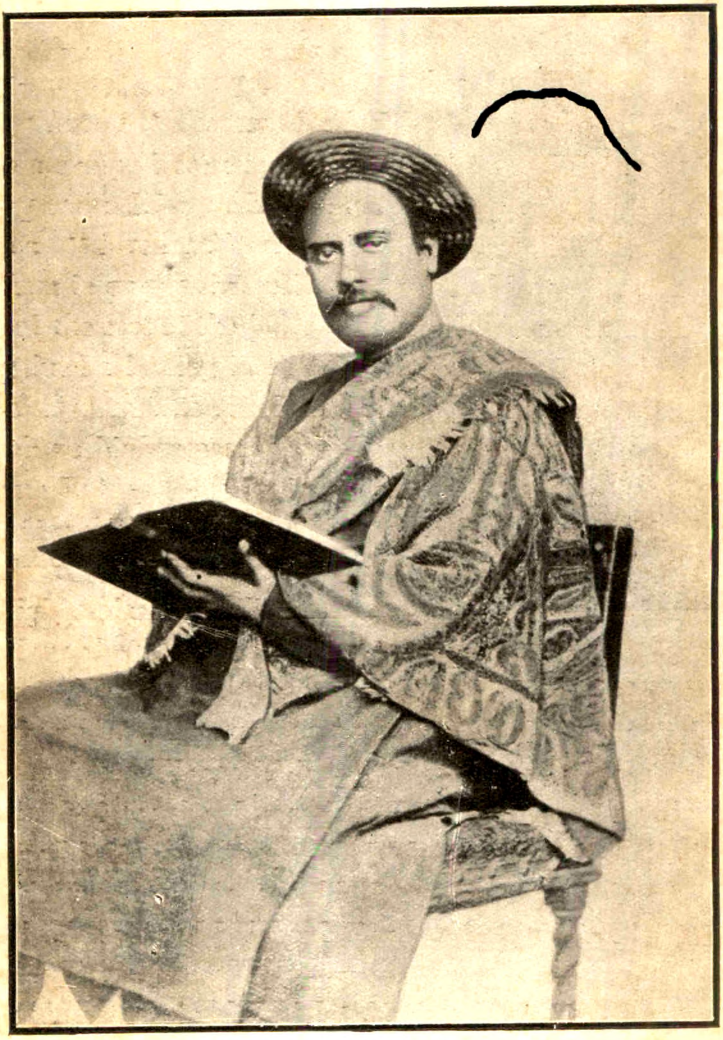

KRISTODAS PAL

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1928

RURAL BENGAL IN THE SEVENTIES

Man is essentially a gregarious creature ; he finds the fullest scope for his faculties in close association with his fellows. The City-States of Hellas were formed by a process which the Greeks styled *Synecism,* "adding house to house." No love has ever been lost between townsmen and country folk. The ancient Romans called dwellers outside their walls *Pagani* (from *Pagus,* a village), and the early Christians used "pagan" as a synonym for heathen because the new religion made relatively slow progress among dull-witted rustics. Calcutta exemplifies the movement which converts a group of villages into a city ; its nucleus was three hamlets on the eastern bank of the Hughli. In 1742 the Council ordered a trench to be cut on the Settlement's vulnerable side, in order to protect it against the Maratha hordes which were raiding Bengal. The "Maratha Ditch" was never completed, but fifty years ago its course could still be traced in parts of Circular Road. There is a flavour of contempt in the sobriquet "Ditcher," which clings to citizens of Calcutta and they retaliated by referring to provincial Bengal as the "Mofussil" (a corruption of the Arabic *Mfsal,* denoting the interior of a country as distinguished from the seat of its government, *Sadr,* vulgarly " Sudder "). In January 1871, I became a " Mofussilite," on being transferred to the headquarters of a district on the Northern bank of the Padma, which is the main stream of the Ganges, although it lacks the sanctity attaching to the Hughli, a minor branch of the mighty river.

Fifty-seven years ago, all superior appointments were reserved by Act of Parliament for British subjects who had stood highest in a competitive examination held annually in London. After being trained for an Indian career, they were called on to enter into a "Covenant" with the Secretary of State, which forbade them to engage in private trade. Very few Indians could afford the cost of the journey to England, and in 1871 only one had gained a footing in the Covenanted Civil Service. His fellow-countrymen who stood outside its jealously guarded pale could reach no higher posts than those of Deputy Magistrate or Subordinate Judge. But Indians performed the routine duties in every office with marked efficiency, and rumour had it that a humble clerk was "the power behind the throne" occupied by many a highly-placed Civilian. It was only natural that educated Indians should view the European monopoly of office with displeasure. Their feelings were timidly voiced by the vernacular press, and found vent at meetings of the Dharma Sabhas, or Religious Assemblies, which took place in every large town. Thirteen years later the simmering discontent was brought to a head by the Lieutenant Governor's ill-judged attempt to limit the right of trial by jury. It gave birth to the Congress Movement, to which Indians stand indebted for every political privilege they now enjoy.

I found Bengal studded with "Civil Stations," each governed by Covenanted Civilians. Of these the District Magistrate and the Sessions Judge ranked as *Bara Sahebs* ; beneath them was the Joint Magistrate, whose functions were mainly judicial, and the covenanted hierarchy was completed by the Assistant Magistrate, styled *Chota Saheb,* who learned his business under the *'Bara*

Saheb's eye. In the early seventies a good many superior appointments were held by men who had entered the service by nomination and been very imperfectly trained for their duties at the East India Company's College. Many "Haileybury Men" were inclined to despise competition-wallahs, but on the whole they treated us very well. Some of them were notoriously incompetent, but the great majority displayed the sterling qualities of the British middle class. European officials in other departments were lumped together as "uncovenanted," and the jealousy aroused by our superior status was expressed by such epithets as "White Brahmin." All the other officials of my first station were in this category. There was a Civil Surgeon who attended "Gazetted Officers" gratis: and a Superintendent of Police, who owed allegiance to his own Department until Sir George Campbell (Lieut.-Governor, 1871-4) brought him under the District Magistrate's thumb. The Department of Public Works was represented by a District Engineer, but the roads for which he was responsible had lapsed into a 'parlous' state. Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General, 1833-36) was nicknamed "William the Kunkeror," owing to his insistence in ordering roads to be metalled with *Kankar,* or calcarean limestones ; but forty years later his Grand Trunk Road, linking Calcutta with Upper India, was quite useless in the rainy season, and his successors failed to realise that a country's civilisation may be measured by the state of the roads. Sir George Campbell must have taken this dictum to heart. He made local authorities responsible for the upkeep of their roads and provided funds for the purpose by levying a cess *ad hoc* on landed proprietors.

The latter used to pay formal calls on leading Europeans when they visited a Civil Station, and feasted us royally on occasions of ceremony. Here, however, social intercourse between the races ended. That they had once been on friendly terms was proved by the Public Libraries which were to be found at most Civil Stations.

But the Mutiny of 1857 was recent history in the seventies: and it left bitter memories which kept Europeans and Indians apart. Our daily routine was much the same everywhere. We rose at 6 or 7 A.M. according to the season, and generally had a good gallop on the racecourse. Then we cooled our limbs in the Station Swiming Bath, whither our servants had preceded us with a change of clothes. I recollect a funny incident occurring at this rendezvous. Practical joking has happily gone out of fashion, but in the seventies it was considered capital sport—by the joker. While we were disporting ourselves in the water one morning, a colleague of mine pointed to his bearer, who was standing at the edge of the bath, and whispered: "Just see what a shock he'll get." Then, creeping stealthily behind the old man, he pushed him into deep water. This cruel trick evoked loud laughter which rose to shrieks, when the victim spluttered out on emerging, "I've got master's watch in my pocket!"

Our evenings were generally spent in promenading the Bund, an embankment which protected the town from inundation, while ancient dance music was rendered by the Station Band, under the direction of an ex-mutineer. This dreary form of recreation was varied by an occasional croquet-party—lawn tennis was not imported until 1874—which enabled bachelors to enjoy the society of the fair sex. In those days flying visits to England were unheard of, and the journey to Darjiling involved a trek by palanquin through the fever-haunted Terai. At my first station no fewer than six European ladies were content or compelled to share their husbands' sufferings in the hot weather and rainy seasons.

The non-official community consisted of Europeans engaged in producing indigo and raw silk. Most of the "Indigo Concerns" were owned by wealthy British firms whose policy it was to acquire an interest inland in order to force their ryots to deliver the raw material at prices which were far below the cost of producing it. During the Impeachment of Warren

Hastings, Thomas Erskine sought to excuse his high-handed action by admitting that an Indian Dominion had been won by the "Knavery and strength of Civilisation." Such was undoubtedly the case with Bengal Indigo—prior to the famous riots of 1863. They were started by the disclosures of a European missionary named Long, whose pamphlet entitled *Nil Darpan*, "Mirror of Indigo," incited the ryots to rise against their oppressors. A Commission, headed by the future Sir Ashley Eden, upheld Mr. Long's indictment, and means were taken to check the worst abuses. To place the manufacture of indigo on a sound economic basis was quite impossible. Eastern Bengal has a natural monopoly of the production of jute, which is yearly exported to the tune of £54,000,000. Things are far otherwise with indigo and raw silk. Both industries have been killed by the competition of more favoured countries and the discovery of artificial substitutes. In the early seventies, however, few signs of the approaching catastrophe had made their appearance. The European planters were a cheery set, much given to hospitality and sport. The Race Meetings which enlivened Christmas and New Year at most Civil Stations owed everything to their patronage.

After spending two unhappy years as a *Chota Saheb*, I received charge of a sub-division situated in the heart of an Indigo District. My social intercourse with the Planters left little to be desired; but as an official I was sorely handicapped by the lack of advice and support from my superiors. With the Indian community my relations were uniformly cordial. Realising that the proper function of a government is to make people happy, I took the lead in celebrating Queen Victoria's Birthday by feasting the rich and feeding the poor. With the aid of an Indian Committee I started annual fairs, to which many thousands flocked from far and wide. Bengalis have marked dramatic gifts and their language lends itself to poetic expression. I afforded scope to this hidden talent by building a temporary theatre, in which vernacular plays and operas were rendered by an amateur company. The dullness of life in the country is responsible for the litigation and the faction-fighting to which Bengalis are addicted. My attempts to relieve it were seconded by Hindus and Moslems alike. In those peaceful days there was no sign of the "theological hatred," which politics has brought in its train; and the aggressive puritanism preached by Wahabi missionaries met with scant response.

Early in 1874 the failure of the Monsoon brought a shortage in the food crops of Western Bengal. The Behar Famine which supervened was vigorously tackled by Sir Richard Temple. He imported mountains of rice into the distressed region, segregated the diseased and helpless in concentration-camps, and strengthened the Behar cadres at the expense of Bengal.

I was transferred on famine duty to the Gaya District, where I came under the sway of a Magistrate Collector belonging to a type which has long been extinguished. Owing to his tyranny and caprice he was commonly known as "Sweet Pea," a nickname suggested by the first letter of his patronymic. He placed me in charge of a vast collection of huts mainly tenanted by lepers, whose tortured bodies displayed every species of deformity. Happily for myself I was not doomed to live in this inferno. The task of feeding the poor wretches devolved on a Eurasian Deputy Magistrate, who contracted leprosy. It used to be said of the pre-war English that they "dearly loved a big butcher's bill," *i.e.*, they measured a victory by the list of killed and wounded. Sir Richard Temple knew that the same principle applied to financial operations. He poured out money like water; every ryot who owned a bullock-cart had the time of his life, and orders came by wire to double transport charges which were already exorbitant. Subsequent enquiries have proved that the distress in Behar had been grossly overestimated, and that fifty per cent. of the £12,000,000 spent on relief went into the wrong pockets.

On returning to my Bengal sub-division, I found the cultivators battling with an inundation from two tributaries of the Ganges which was submerging their autumn rice. Thousands were raising mud embankments while thousands more busied themselves in harvesting the threatened crop. Their efforts came too late. In a day or two the whole country became a lake, from which the villages stood out as islands raised on the débris left by past generations. I had no difficulty in persuading the ryots to deal systematically with a recurrent danger. They worked with a will to protect their crops during the ensuing cold season, which is always a slack time in agriculture. When in September, 1875, the rivers again rose in flood they were kept within due bounds by neatly turfed embankments. Never shall I forget the thrill of joy I felt on riding along these stout protective works. On one side I saw a torrent of swirling water, while on the other, far below, a wide expanse of grain was ripening in perfect safety. But the Department of Public Works did not approve of any amateurish tampering with the Delta's drainage. I was told by telegram that an hydraulic engineer had been placed on special duty to report on my embankments. Three days later there arrived from the Punjab a thin, sad-looking person, named Long, whom I piloted over the new embankments on the north of my subdivision. We became great friends, and our evening talk wandered far from professional topics. After telling me with a sigh that he had lately lost a dearly-loved wife, he went on, " One morning a week ago my old bearer came to me and said, ' Saheb, I had a curious dream last night. The Mem-Saheb appeared to me and whispered " Shadu, tell your master that he's going to be sent to Bengal and that he'll meet me there." ' Now I had not the remotest idea of any such transfer : but within a couple of hours I got a wire ordering me to report myself to the D. P. W.

Secretariat in Calcutta, and here I am. So the first part of Shadu's dream has come true. I wonder what the rest of it means ?" After exchanging futile conjectures we made plans for a journey southwards, but at the last moment I got news of a threatened riot in the opposite direction. We, therefore, parted company and Mr. Long set out alone for the camp that had been pitched for us. Next day I heard to my grief that he had succumbed to an attack of cholera.

In 1877 Madras experienced famine on a far greater scale than anything I had seen in Behar. I wrote, offering my services to H. E. the Governor, with whose family mine was connected. In a week's time I was transferred on famine duty to the Southern Presidency and did not return to my dear old Province until the end of 1881.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

II

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

As education in India is to a considerable extent modelled on the English system and as there is still a very strong tendency to do the same in new foundations, it seems desirable to make the next step[1] in this discussion a consideration of what has been done in England in the way of providing vocational training. But, the survey must be critical. The industrial supremacy of England is not due in any degree to her existing educational system. It was not until 1870 that Elementary Education was made compulsory. Most of the Technical Schools, and organised systems of Technical instruction now existing were instituted nearly a generation later than that, and have still to be tried out in practice. In the meantime industrial prosperity is sustained by the same causes that gave it birth in the early 19th century when there was no general education, technical or otherwise. It is not within the scope of this article to investigate those causes at any length. The most important of them were an abundant supply of cheap fuel, a favourable geographical position, and the enterprising character of her people.

All this is not to disparage education of course. All Western nations are now convinced that their industries depend for their continued prosperity on a sound educational system, and all are endeavouring to meet the need. But the Indian organizer should take care to avoid the fallacy that Western prosperity is a result of Western Education, which is thus proved to be a very good system and one to be closely imitated. The great modern technical schools, and their great endowments are a result of industrial success; not its cause.

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[1] See June number, Calcutta Review.

We have already drawn attention to the young coach-builder of 1828. This was about the time of the first railway. The steam locomotive is perhaps the machine of all most worthy to be regarded as the symbol of the mechanical age. In it the people of Europe first beheld power come out from the workshops and go forth to every corner of the world conquering and to conquer. The popular imagination has thus come to look upon George Stephenson as the typical and model engineer. As a matter of fact he did not invent the steam engine, the locomotive, nor the railway. His contribution was, energy, vision and the sustained resolution required to make the thing a success, in a word—character.

The life of Stephenson is well known. He was the son of a fireman, or as an Indian might put it, a "low caste man." He had very little of any education even to the end of his life. What little scientific knowledge he had, he obtained by study in the evening after his day's work was done. It is very doubtful if he invented a single one of the details that contributed to the success of the locomotive.

The locomotive was a synthesis of the work of many men, a product of its time. Stephenson was an enterprising energetic man who saw its possibilities and explored them to the utmost. The locomotive made Stephenson. Stephenson did not make the locomotive.

Now, it is possible to draw a number of conclusions from this. One is that technical, and scientific education is entirely unnecessary, even for success as an engineer. Another less extreme is that the engineer must necessarily receive the most important part of his education in the workshop, and therefore that his theoretical education can only be a spare-time job. Something very like this is the conventionally correct view in England. On the assumption that it is substantially correct has been erected the enormously expensive, and almost completely futile system of evening class education.

Before we proceed to discuss it, however, it is perhaps desirable to say a word or two concerning what this article is about, and what it is not about. It is concerned with that kind of education that will be a cause of general advance in the efficiency of a country's industries and the wealth of the country as a whole. It is not particularly concerned with the arts and energies by which a man may become rich and influential in the direction of industry. That may be, and very often, if not usually, is quite a different matter.

Along with the decline in skill, and the rise of intelligence there has been a great increase of specialisation; in some respects an advance, in others a deterioration. In as much as it is a bye-product of the increasing interlinkage of many men, and a replacement of isolated effort by combined effort, it is good. In as much as it confines and restricts a man's intellectual horizon it is bad. But that is by the way. The point is that even such a simple act as the shooting of a tiger, is in these days, the act not of an individual but of many men, most of whom would die of fear, if they thought there was a tiger at large in the same county. The hunter of the stone age who dug his pit and waited for the mastodon to fall into it might fairly claim the achievement for his own, if he pulled it off. But who ever heard of a big game hunter in these days who was the inventor of his explosive, its manufacturer, the metallurgist who provided the material, of his rifle the men who designed the machines on which the gun was made, and the dozen artisans who made it. These were all different men, so different that hardly one could have done the work of any of the others, and yet every one was a contributor to the ultimate triumph. So it is with all our industrial achievements. They are syntheses, every one of them. Among those who contribute are to be found dreamy "unpractical" men full of ideas, but quite incapable of applying them; energetic persevering men who will experiment, and experiment for years on a single device, and yet other who will neither think nor experiment but who have the enterprise to force the thing on the attention of other men and make it a commercial success. Of these three main types it is with the first and second that technical education is principally concerned.

The thesis of this essay is, how to organize education in order to raise the general level of material prosperity of a whole nation. If the object was to teach individuals how to secure an individual success, we would have to begin by sternly warning the reader to beware of the pernicious example of the dreamer and the experimenting monomaniac. It is in the highest degree improbable that either of them will die rich. Only the third man is likely to do that. He, also, is an agent of his country's prosperity, and no disparagement of his character is intended in dismissing him from this discussion. We are merely not concerned with him. Our problem is how to teach the dreamer to materialize his dreams, and how to give the experimenter that knowledge that would prevent him wasting his energies in a hopeless direction.

Day by day, year by year, the circumference of our acquired knowledge grows greater. At every point of it there are possibilities yet to be exploited. But science is not a mere creation of the mind. Many of its theories may be, but it is in essence an exploration of pre-existing and eternal law which is discovered, not made. As long as these laws were not known it was inevitable that much time should be wasted in trying to achieve the supernatural, and it is by no means obvious to ordinary common sense what is, or is not, supernatural. Wireless telegraphy, and the Rontgen rays, would have certainly struck the ordinary man as supernatural, at any period before they were demonstrated as possible and subject to natural law. The exploration and the extension of the boundaries of our knowledge have now gone on for a century since the foundation of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. More and more of collateral science is drawn upon and applied every decade by the technologist of every description. Nevertheless few people in England realize the fact. It is still supposed that an engineer is essentially a blacksmith or a surveyor, working on a large scale, no doubt, but still for all practical purposes a mechanic as Stephenson was. He is supposed to be a rather skilful person with his hands of course, and as regards his education it is generally conceded that if he wishes to rise to a position of eminence, he should have a smattering of natural philosophy, such as can easily be picked up in his spare time. Scholarships are even provided to allow a few (fewer than fifty) to get a year or two of full time education. It is shown in Doctor Smile's biography of George Stephenson that in his spare time, he learnt reading, writing and "Figuring" (Elementary Arithmetic). There is some suggestion that he also did a little at physics, but the accounts given of his later experiments show very clearly that he had no real knowledge of science. This is what a young engineer studying in engineering classes must do if he is to have a chance to win one of the fifty or fewer scholarships mentioned above. He must devote one evening a week to:—

Practical Geometry for	Three years
Machine construction and drawing for ...	Three years
Pure Mathematics for	Four years
Practical Mathematics for	Two years
Theoretical Mechanics for	Three years
Applied Mechanics for	Three years
Physics for	Four years
Heat Engines for	Three years

This list was made out fifteen years ago, in order to estimate the amount of work required to win a Whitworth Exhibition which was then of the total value of £50 (Rs. 660). By working at his trade in the holidays, and perhaps with a little help in addition, a student might get a whole year of full-time study. The pace has got hotter since then and the cost of education has risen together with other costs. One could not get a £50 scholarship so easily now and if one could, the £50 would not last much more than half as long.

Evening classes commonly last from 7 P.M. to 10 P.M. and continued to be held from September to April inclusive. An engineer's apprenticeship is five years in duration from 16 to 21 years of his age. The young engineer who would gain an adequate knowledge of the theory of his profession in evening classes must, in addition to an ordinary day's work in the shops devote five evenings a week to study during these years of his apprenticeship. Out of the tens of thousands who begin this colossal task each year, about 50 actually succeed in carrying it out, and do in some cases become successful innovating engineers. But the waste of effort and the injury inflicted alike on those who fail and on those who succeed is out of all proportion to the result. In these days a young engineer must in the period of his training recapitulate the discoveries of a century or more. The accumulation is too great to be a spare-time job and even if it were not, the youth is entitled to enjoy his spare time. He has to become a human being as well as an engineer, and the intelligent enjoyment of leisure is part of his education as a tolerable citizen.

The one merit of evening class education is its cheapness. In many cases it is possible to make use of buildings used for other purposes during the day-time. The teachers are as a rule men not very successfully engaged during the day as professional engineers and glad to earn the small extra payment for an evening or two a week. For a very small fee per student such classes can be made self-supporting, and the delusion that many thousands are being technically trained practically without cost to the public purse is produced. But it is a pure delusion. There are crowded evening classes in nearly every large town in England. Their organizers produce imposing annual reports showing exactly how many students there are. The writer of these lines has himself taught in these evening classes for a score of years; and knows from personal observation of the process that not one out of a hundred of these students ever succeeds in getting an education sufficiently complete to be of any practical value.

It is earnestly to be hoped therefore that Indian organizers will not be so misguided as to regard spare-time classes as in any way a solution of the problem of technical education. One of the greatest assets a nation has is the energy of its young men and their faith in the wisdom of their elders. This is the perennial motive force of the English system of evening-class education, which wastes and destroys it to little or no useful purpose. No matter how cheap it may appear a system that does that is in reality as costly as it is useless.

Every now and then the system is "reformed" by changing some of the subjects for others, or amalgamating them in twos or threes and pretending that the work to be done is thus halved or divided by three. So far no one had the courage to say that the attempt to impart the results of the progress of the most progressive century of history in the evening of five years is a tragic farce.

It has already been noted that the whole course is designed on the assumption that every student will go right through it, and if he does not is to be regarded as a total failure. On this principle about 90% of those who undertake the course turn out to be failures more or less complete. That is to say they abandon the effort sooner or later before completing it.

The course having been designed as a whole, they are thus left with an unusable fragment, stopping short of completion in any sense. A state of affairs analogous to that of certain subjects in the elementary schools is engendered. The students failing to attain or see any application of their knowledge, soon drop it quietly overboard, and devote their energies to something practical: very often to the commercial side of engineering, which as things are arranged is more profitable to the man who engages in it, though less profitable to the state. It is the custom to blame their teachers for their failure, but it is the system which is to blame, and the responsibility for the system rests with those superficial citizens who insist on it under the delusion that it is economical. It is actually wasteful of an enormous proportion of the little that is spent on it, and ultimately, of course, in its waste of human material, about as extravagant as can well be imagined. But the financial aspect of the system is left for consideration later..

The teacher of a typical evening class is usually, like his students, a part-time man. He may in subjects collateral to the profession (Mathematics, Physics, etc., for the engineer) be really a teacher, with the special training that a teacher requires. If so the bulk of his experience is with boys under fourteen years of age under the draconic regime of the elementary school. Usually, however, he is engaged during the daytime in the same work as his students, and with a few honourable exceptions, is only a teacher by courtesy. The typical evening teacher is a man who has not done very well in his profession, and needs the money which he gets for such work to supplement his ordinary salary. This is a hard saying but it is a necessary, and, as admitted, with a few honourable exceptions, a true one.

The fact that evening teaching is nearly all futile cannot be concealed from the teacher, whoever else may be blind to it. The energy which has a surplus available for from three to ten hours' extra work a week is not very often to be found in men who have passed their first youth. In short, the payment is the principal motive. Like all work, for which the principal motive is a money payment, it is badly done. It would be badly done, even if it was adequately inspected by an inspectorate that had power to ruin the defaulting teacher, but there is not even that safeguard. As the conditions preclude success altogether there is no standard by which the teacher can be judged. The students themselves are not able to judge the value of what they receive. How should they be? They have no experience. The defaulter has nothing to fear from them. As one lot of exhausted and disillusioned students drop off, a fresh and inexperienced lot come up to replace them. So the machine is driven by an upward stream of the energy and enthusiasm of youth, most of which it wastes. The wheels go round. The Principal's annual reports contain imposing figures describing the breadth of the stream, and the complexity of the machine, and much modest pride in the smoothness of its working. No one seems to notice or care that the machine is doing nothing external to itself in proportion to its size, to the adolescent energy which is its motive power, or to the money which it costs.

The occasional teachers who come in to the institution once or twice a week, at the moment the class starts, and bolt when their hour is up know nothing of each other, or of the other classes taken by the student in the same and other years of the course ; except what is to be gleaned from the prospects, of which they probably read only the syllabus of their own classes, and interpret it according to their own temperament and ideas, if they have any. What leisure they have (and it obviously must be scanty) they do not spend in each other's society except rarely by some happy accident. No amount of organisation, no elaboration of syllabuses, no matter how careful and how ingenious, can weld such a collection of men into an organic whole with a common purpose and some community of method. They have no opportunity to co-operate with each other, as a rule they have not the vision, and even if they had both they have not the will.

Owing to the fluctuation of classes which are held one year and not another (A spell of prosperity with the resulting overtime will destroy all the advanced classes till it has passed) they are usually engaged for the session only. It is a very rare thing for the same set of teachers to be employed during the whole of a five years' course. Different men interpret the same syllabus in a widely different manner. The teacher of a third-year class can make no assumptions from his previous experience as to the teaching his students have received in the previous two years. If he is a slacker he puts them all through the same mill. If not he spends the first month of each session finding out, and incidentally discouraging a proportion of his students either by a too high standard or by repeating at what seems to them a tedious length, matter already perfectly familiar to them.

And as if that were not enough, the powers that be, partly realising the absence of practical result, are always (about every three years), altering the syllabus entirely ; under the impression that the fault is one of mere arrangement.

The trouble with evening classes is this, and it cannot be too often repeated ; they are trying to do ten hours' work in one hour with tired students, and tired teachers. It is not suggested that evening classes should be abandoned altogether. As a relaxation they may endure indefinitely. But for the training of the complete engineer they are useless except in the case of men so gifted with energy, perseverance and natural ability that they would probably succeed under any circumstances. The number of these men is about one per cent. of those who present themselves. For the rest, the system is a training in failure.

A doctor of medicine in ordinary practice professes a knowledge of two closely allied machines only. They are complex, but there is only the two, male and female. He is not allowed to include such a similar machine as a horse or a dog, without the risk of being called a quack. We recognise him as qualified only if he has given the whole energy of five years to the study of his two machines. Note that he is only a repairer. He is not required to design or construct. The engineer taught as above, on the other hand, is expected to design, construct, use, and incidentally repair if necessary, at least a hundred very different machines, and structures, some of them little, if at all, less complex than the human body.

In general an engineer is not as esteemed or as well paid as a doctor. The reason is that he is not so well educated and the reason for that is that evening classes have not given him the opportunity.

Or can it be because people attach more importance to their own survival than to anything else? If so it is time they awoke to the fact that a damaged lung, heart, or stomach will not more certainly hurl them into Eternity than will a defective bridge, locomotive or ship, such as all now use daily.

The numbers of the students (though only a small proportion of the mass of potential students) who present themselves in the early stages of the Evening Course are very large. Classes of forty, fifty and even sixty, are not unusual at the beginning, before disillusion thins them out. The institutions that cater for them must necessarily therefore provide large buildings to accommodate them. In general these buildings are useless for any other kind of work. Many of the rooms are laboratories, crowded with apparatus that cannot be removed during the day. They cannot be used as Elementary Schools because the desks are too large, and in some cases designed only for drawing.

There is very often a small nucleus of full-time teachers who, like the buildings, are free during the day time.

To the desire to make use of these empty buildings and the disengaged teachers during the day time is due most of the day classes. The full-time teachers, like their part-time colleagues, are not supposed to require any time for preparation. If they don't know all they may have to teach and are not ready to deliver themselves of it at a moment's notice they are called incompetent, and therefore of course they keep the fact that they do not and are not very dark. The buildings which are really empty, and the teachers who are thus supposed by every one to be idle during the day time, are made use of in various ways. Sometimes a Secondary School is carried on, in the buildings and by the teachers whose *raison d'etre* is the evening classes, regardless of the fact that no one man can possibly be suitable to teach such diverse students.

More usually, there are small day classes in Engineering attended, by a miscellaneous lot of students, made up as follows :—

(*a*) Well-to-do youths who have failed to pass the Matriculation examination of a University. These are often still trying, and hoping to do so later, in which case, they devote to the regular class work only a part of abilities and energy already shown to be deficient. The age of these varies from seventeen to twenty.

(*b*) Sons of parents, sufficiently well off to be above requiring them to partially keep themselves, but not sufficiently well off to provide the higher fees and other expenses of a University. Every variety of ability and energy is represented in this lot.

(*c*) An occasional youth between fourteen and sixteen who is filling up the gap between the elementary school, and the beginning of apprenticeship, and who ought to be in a Secondary School.

These day classes account for perhaps three-quarters of the day students, whose total number is in the neighbourhood of a hundredth of the number of evening students.

Their principal defects are :—

That they have no connection with the workshop. (There are a few exceptions to this.)

That the students are selected on what amounts to the pecuniary circumstances of their parents, and not at all on their fitness for instruction.

That their numbers are so small that it is not possible to grade them properly either as to age or ability. Also on account of the small numbers the institution cannot afford to weed out those students who, for one reason or another, are a drag on the work. On the other hand, the small numbers are conducive to efficient teaching, the time available is very great in comparison with the evening classes, and the whole energy of the student is available for study.

This completes the system which has grown up from the Stephenson tradition.

Quite separate from the organisation described above and having no connection whatever with it is the work of the Universities in technology. Its ancestry is the mediaeval University, and the training it gives is very similar in standard and general character to that which a doctor of medicine receives. With one exception, presently to be described, it is the best training an engineer can have. On this account and because of the prestige of centuries attaching to a University degree, it is the one selected by all parents who can afford it. The teachers (the professors that is, the same cannot always be said of subordinate teachers) are well paid and in their profession, the best available. They know what they have to teach, but they are not always able to teach it. They set the standard, however, and the students being well to do, are able to afford extra-mural private tuition, which pretty well fills the gap.

The University shares with the Stephensonian day classes the disadvantages, of separation from the industry, and the selection of students on pecuniary grounds only. Its noble traditions of freedom in learning and teaching are its invaluable monopoly.

The best system of technical education in England and perhaps in the world, is that which exists in the Dockyard Schools at Portsmouth, Devonport, Chatham, Sheerness, Pembroke and Haulbowline. The students are drawn entirely from among the dockyard apprentices, and are practically all the sons of workingmen. They begin to serve an apprenticeship in the dockyards at about fifteen and a half years of age, and from the first, are given a few hours off from work every week in order to attend the classes. The number of hours per week varies from five hours per week at the beginning of apprenticeship, to eight hours per week at the end. No fees are charged, and there is no sacrifice of wages. In the first year of his apprenticeship every apprentice enjoys these privileges, but in the next and all the subsequent years only a selected proportion, which appears to work out roughly at fifty, twenty-five, ten and eight per cent. of the total number entering ; in the second, third, fourth and fifth years, respectively. No students other than those so selected are permitted to attend the classes. This sums up all the advantages over other systems which these schools enjoy, namely, free time in some proportion to the work to be done, no financial penalty, and a rigid selection of fit students to which no exception is permitted.

Otherwise the dockyard schools are rather behind than in front of others pretending to do the same work. They are under-equipped, and under-staffed. The syllabus of instruction is very narrow and except for a little elementary English there is nothing beyond the science applicable to Marine Engineering and shipbuilding. A student who developed an interest in biology, and who might be developed into a useful man in connection with deep sea fisheries, say, would be among the rejected, and would be forced to become an ordinary workman. Commercial subjects also are boycotted.

In the field to which their work is thus restricted the success in after life, of the students from these schools, has been extraordinary.

The Whitworth Scholarships have been already mentioned. They, and the Royal Scholarships in Mechanics of which about six are offered for competition every year, making a total of forty, are the only post-graduate Scholarships available outside the Universities. They have become post-graduate in character owing to the fierce competition, caused by their inadequate number. The students of the Dock-yard Schools secure almost exactly half of them every year, leaving the remainder for all the other technical schools in the country, about one hundred and fifty in number. Three successive Professors of Naval Architecture in the University of Glasgow were old Dock-yard boys. In all positions requiring high technical proficiency in Marine Engineering, or Naval Architecture, throughout the country, the odds are about two to one that the holder received his initial training in one of these six schools.

In the last few years, there has come into existence, several varieties of what is called the "Sandwich System" of technical education. In as much as it provides for training in day classes, it is like the Dock-yard System, but the slices of the Sandwich are thicker. A typical arrangement is as follows :

The youth begins his training as an apprentice to some engineering firm somewhere about his sixteenth birthday and continues to be trained as an ordinary workman, with the usual evening classes, for two years. At the end of that time, if it is found that he has made some progress in his evening classes, he is withdrawn from the workshop for the six winter months of the four succeeding years. If he works hard and had reached Matriculation Standard (corresponding to Inter. Science in India), he may in this way become a graduate in engineering (of say the University of London) by the time he is 22 years of age. The University of London has an extensive system by which it allows "External" students to obtain its degrees by merely passing examinations, mostly on paper.

The good features of this system are :—

(*a*) The student begins his training with that part, that will naturally interest him most if he is temperamentally an engineer, that is to say, with the actual handling of tools and machines. It is a correct principle that tuition in any subject should not be offered until the student wants it, there is much to be said for allowing him to handle the ordinary workman's job, until he realizes that there is a great deal he will never understand, without systematic and prolonged explanation, such as no one in the workshop has time (and perhaps ability) to give him ; and by experiment in a well equipped laboratory. When that time comes, he is ripe for the systematic course of "theoretical" instruction offered by the college.

(*b*) The periodical return to the workshop in the summer months is also good in two ways. The exercise is excellent for his physical development, and he is prevented from becoming too academic in his outlook. He passes from his training to the practice of his profession without break or shock.

The defects appear to be :—

(1) The total time spent in the college is too short for what has to be done. A complete college training comprises two elements which require much time. One of them is the laboratory in all science subjects and the other in drawing. A proper organization would devote as much time to them as to all other subjects combined ; but as neither contributes much to success in examinations as at present conducted, they are neglected.

(2) The apprentices from whom the Sandwich System student is selected is earning a wage, in these post-war days an important item in the cost of his living. The employer can hardly be blamed for refusing to pay it during the four winters that he is absent from the workshops. Thus, even if the tuition is free, only a small proportion of all the potential students can afford to avail themselves of it. This is the serious defect. A Dock-yard apprentice sacrifices no part of his wage by attending the day classes provided for him, and therefore only the most suitable students are selected for advanced training. On the other hand, under the Sandwich System as usually practised, the students are apprenticed with private firms, and the selection is in effect a selection of the sons of well-to-do parents, or of only sons, with very little regard to real aptitude.

L. D. COUESLANT

HOPE AND LOVE

I

O Hope, desire's chain thou break,
Set free my heart and mind,
I'll lose myself in Thee, sweet Hope,
With Him in love me bind !
O Hope, be thou the queen serene
To rule o'er me and all,
What reck I if things of life
Make me rise or make me fall.
When raised by Hope beyond this life
Each is each yet ever one
With all, desires beneath thee crawl
And thou art touched by none—
Desires by desires spun.
Desires may come, desires may go
But thou art ever love,
Thou bright, resplendent joy of life
The same below, above.
When Hope gives life to heart and mind
None lose one jot, same joy all find.
When man and man in Hope are one
By joy immortal bond is spun.
When all is given nothing lost
When all is won but nothing cost.

II

O Love, thou art most lovely then
When pride from thee is sped—
When thou art seen as virgin joy
Whom none can hope to wed,

When self-effacement thy hand-maid,
In lustre thine when life doth fade,
And worth of thee is nev'r weighed,
When search for self, for ever is stayed,
When I am love and love is I,
When silence's speech and speech is dumb,
When mind unminds and reason rests,
When all may go and naught may come,
When love is all and all is love—
The earth below and sky above.
With love death's life, without, life's death
With love hell's heaven and pain joy's breath.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE MIDDLE EAST

After the Napoleonic War, when Great Britain with the support of Russia, Austria and Prussia crushed French ascendency in Continental Europe and in India, her greatest concern was to consolidate her position in India. She devoted her energy to this ambitious work of empire-building until she established her undisputed supremacy in India, which is as large as the Continent of Europe, except Russia.

About a hundred years after the Napoleonic War, by the World War, British diplomacy with the support of France, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States of America and many other (minor) Powers, crushed the sea-power and Colonial Empire of Germany. After eliminating Germany as the political competitor of Britain's World Empire, the British statesmen calmly began the work of consolidating British Power in the Middle East—the region between the Suez Canal and India ; and in that vast region they are following the same policy as they did in India a century ago.

One of the great concerns of the British rulers of India, during the early nineteenth century, was to play one Indian Native State against another and at the same time sign treaties of so-called alliance with some of them and to control foreign affairs of these allies, so that they would be deprived of the immense value of independent action in international relations.

Curiously enough, to-day the same policy is being pursued in the Middle East. Except in two cases, so far the British efforts in the Middle East have been entirely satisfactory and successful. The British Government under the leadership of Lord Curzon tried to conclude a treaty with Persia in 1918-1919, which if ratified by the Persian Majlis, would have reduced Persia to the position of a British vassal by according the British Government practical control over Persia's finance, army and foreign relations. Great Britain also intended to continue a policy of converting Afghanistan into a British sphere of influence, which was agreed upon between Tsarist Russia and the British Government. But in these instances British statesmen were out-manœuvred by the Soviet Russian diplomats and the Persian and Afghan patriots. It may be added that Britain wanted to reduce Turkey to absolute impotence, through a successful Greek attack on her. But Turkey inflicted a severe blow on British diplomacy by winning over France and Soviet Russia to her side and by crushing the Greek forces in Asia.

However, Great Britain has succeeded in establishing a very firm foothold in various parts of the Middle East and it is to be expected that during the coming years, British energies will be directed to strengthen Britain's position in this region at any cost.

About a century and a half ago Britain established her political power in the province of Bengal on a solid foundation and then moved in all directions to conquer the whole of India. Similarly Britain has established supremacy in Palestine by securing British mandate over this region of supreme strategical importance. By controlling Palestine, Britain has secured her control over the Suez Canal and the Asian mainland bordering the Mediterranean, so that British naval, land and air forces would be able to co-operate in extending British power in all directions especially to the East and the South. To facilitate this work, Britain has created various Arab States, by breaking up the Ottoman Empire. These Arab States are not only inimical to one another but also are under British control. Britain is going to use these Arab States to further her own interests in the Middle East.

It is sufficient to mention that the British Government has already used Iraq as an instrument against Turkey, and at the present time the Anglo-Iraq Treaty is a direct threat against Persia. In fact, the present Anglo-Persian relations are far from cordial, because of the British support to Iraq against Persia in the controversy between the two latter States, regarding the right of Persian citizens in Iraq and the question of the rights over Anglo-Persian Oil. The British desire to have the right of civil aviation through Persian territory and the adjustment of Persia's financial obligations to Britain, are further causes of irritation. Britain realises that the neutrality treaty between Persia and Soviet Russia may in course of time become a Treaty of Alliance. In that case Anglo-Iraq Alliance will be an effective weapon in the hands of British statesmen. Realising this necessity, British Air Forces have established themselves in Iraq and they have already demonstrated their effectiveness on various occasions. Thus Iraq is being utilised by the British Government against Persia, Turkey and other States which may adopt anti-British policy.

In the past the British Government used Ibn Saud, the present King of Hedjaz and Nedj, against the Turks. But the British authorities are suspicious of the policy of Ibn Saud, who may be thinking of taking steps to make himself more powerful and to bring about a united Arab Empire in co-operation with other Moslem powers. Thus the British authorities had to punish the underlings of Ibn Saud whose activities were anti-Iraqi and thus anti-British. To fight Ibn Saud single-handed may prove to be costly to the British authorities. Thus the British authorities are willing to conclude a so-called Treaty of Alliance with King Abdullah of Trans-Jordania, on such terms as will mean British control over the military and foreign and financial affairs of the State of Trans-Jordania. In fact, during the last few years the British Government has been paying a heavy subsidy to King Abdullah so that he will act in concert with the British in the Middle East.

If Great Britain can control Palestine, Trans-Jordania, and Iraq, then even if Ibn Saud refuse to submit to Great Britain's policy, it will not mean anything serious to British power and prestige. In fact it has been urged by many leaders among the followers of Ibn Saud that, the present hostility between the Wahabis and the Iraqis as well as the existing suspicion and enmity between Trans-Jordania and Nedj are being fully utilised by the British in their favour and against the cause of a united and independent Arab Empire in the Middle East. The British secured supremacy in India by using Indian man-power and at the same time being able to play one Indian Native State against another. This is fully demonstrated in the work of "*The Rise of the Christian Power in India*" by Major Basu. The British authorities are to-day pursuing the same policy of using Arab man-power, strategic position and Arab rulers against one another.

The ultimate success of the British policy in the Middle East will depend upon various factors, such as international situation and primarily the development and success of the Nationalist Movement in India. If the Indian national movement attains its goal, through the co-operation of all elements of the Indian people, especially the Hindus and Moslems, then India will be able to aid effectively the cause of Arab Independence. However, the present situation in the Middle East is a distinct menace to Asian Independence and India.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE CHURCH INVISIBLE.[1]

It is a strange coincidence that on this very Sunday eleven years ago, during the annual festival of the *Brāhma Samāj*—a religious denomination of just a century's standing, embodying and preaching the central truth of Unitarian Christianity in terms of Indian tradition—I was invited to deliver a ten minutes' address before 'the Brāhma Young Men's Conference' on the subject of the growing apathy among young people towards the current forms of congregational worship and other kindred functions of the *Samāj*—a topic which inevitably crops up in the history of every established Church of the world. In the case of our *Samāj*, however, it did not come a moment too soon; for it readily crystallized in the form of a legitimate grievance to be cherished by the veterans against the rising generation. What I then pleaded for was a widening of outlook which alone could read in that alleged 'apathy' a sign of the times, a symptom of that contagious fervour in the world abroad, which had inspired all youth-movements. As it struck me, there is a fundamental unity, despite all divergences, historical or otherwise, underlying these movements and exhibiting the same radicalism ; and the solution of a problem, which was not by its nature parochial or sectarian could only be had by federating all these geographically insulated movements in a world-federation. The much-needed solution can only come, as I indicated in my own humble way, through an adjustment of the rights of Authority and Individuality, of Institutionalism and Mysticism by ceasing to make a fetish of the visible and established church—which is, perhaps, 'the last infirmity of noble minds'—and vesting supreme authority in a Church Invisible whose centre is everywhere but circumference nowhere. But how this apparently fantastic thing which is of a piece with 'such stuff as dreams are made of' can acquire that compelling authority is a matter of detail, and cannot profitably be entered upon here. One of these inroads, as I ventured to suggest therein, is by way of simplification of dogmas and allowance of private mysticism and freedom in the matter of interpreting these dogmas. It is gratifying to note that the questionnaire that has been issued in view of the forthcoming centenary celebrations clearly bespeaks a change in the angle of vision and signalises a move in the right direction so far as a revision and recasting of the creeds has been called for. It is premature to forecast the result of the conflicting tendencies that are destined to come to a focus against the background of a century's accumulation of fruitful experience. Nevertheless, on a careful scrutiny of the forces that have been operative during the last decade, it appears that nothing short of a re-orientation and re-valuation of our attitude towards Indian tradition and culture as a whole, in the light of the instructive errors of the past, will satisfy the requirements of this present spiritual unrest among an influential section of the members of our *Samāj*. Specifically, the tendency to shift the centre of gravity from a protestant or reactionary attitude—which is now looked upon in some quarters as an historic necessity,—to a more catholic and comprehensive one, affords an instructive comparison with that growing tendency of the Anglo-Catholic movement whose sole purpose is to make the Christian Church broad-based. What recent controversies in the Christian Church have made plain and what we can unhesitatingly affirm, without speaking 'evil of the dignities' or meaning any the least disrespect to a laudable motive inspiring the whole movement, is that no definite ground seems to have been gained in this centuries old trench-warfare, or to put it more mildly, that the so-called common platform had been raised on shifting quicksand merely. In such a transitional stage—a stage of a dubious conflict of ideals—when no definite vantage-ground is in sight, there is a general tendency to invoke an 'interim religion' devised to meet the exigencies of the situation. A rigid and inflexible orthodoxy will not, however, tolerate the intrusion of such a disruptive factor in the interest of historic continuity of the Church as an institution. But the institutionalists have yet to reckon the home-truth, which has been so often lost upon them, that in matters pertaining to the spirit, it is flexibility, and not rigidity, that ensures the continued existence and welfare of a Church. A Church that is living justifies its own being by ceaselessly developing and ministering to the growing needs of its members. To stereotype a particular form or to arrest its growth at a particular point is to court sure death. Here as elsewhere, 'we must run, like glittering brooks, else noxious.' If the continuous adaptation to environment is the unmistakable sign of life and if 'development,' which is the law of life, is always 'by breaks and yet makes for continuity,' why should it be otherwise in the spiritual world? As Prof. Wallace, in elucidating the point puts it so finely: "The reader of the *Divina Commedia* may hardly need to be reminded that at each of the grander changes of scene and grade in his pilgrimage, Dante suddenly finds himself without obvious means transported into a new region of experience. There are catastrophes in the process of development; not unprepared, but summing up in a flash of insight, the gradual and unperceived process of growth."[1] In life and logic, as all enlightened opinion will agree, water does always run higher than its source or the conclusion go beyond the premises. Hence it is that youth as the fuller minstrel of the Life of the Spirit of which the visible and established Church professes to be the agent and custodian, has always fought strenuously against fossilization that begins to creep into a Church sooner or later. In so doing it has to adopt sometimes a policy of '*laissez faire*' or secession, or sometimes an actively hostile or iconoclastic attitude against the excesses and vagaries of Church institutionalism, but seldom in a spirit of Quixotic sentimentalism, irresponsible criticism or unmitigated vandalism. An interim religion or ethics is not always the evidence of religious indifferentism or moral opportunism, but may even be born of a stainless allegiance to the Church Invisible to which it is the soul of the young that is always attuned.

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[1] An address delivered at the Ethical Church, London, on the 22nd January, 1928, preceded by a reading from the text of Royce's 'Problem of Christianity,' Vol. II, pp. 428-32.

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[1] Prolegomena to Hegel's Logic, 2nd edition, p. 476.

From the very dim dawn of recorded history, such has been the unique mission and privilege of youth—to ' strive, and hold cheap the strain,'—yes, to ' strive through acts uncouth toward making, than repose on aught found made.' That is why, Tagore, the poet of impetuous and impenitent youth, hails ' the expedition of the Ever-green ' (*sabujer abhijān*) through the ever-recurring Cycle of Spring and invites it to keep time to the cadence of creation to ' the unmixed joy of detaching oneself and gliding away and of breaking.'[1] (*Pārbinā ki yog dite ei chhanderay Khasê jābār, vesê jābār, bhāngbāri ei anandê rê*). This is the priceless legacy of those that dare to be wise and be 'the trumpet of a prophecy' ' to unawakened earth.' Theirs indeed is the privilege of sinning and whatever the sins of commission, 'the sin of unlit lamp and ungirt loin' may not be imputed to them. We may wonder and even deplore that there should be this conditioning of good by evil, or this indispensable prelude of destruction to the story of creation. But it is sheer perversity to imagine that good can exist for a finite creature except as the conquest of evil or that creation can be conceived except as the other side of destruction. Thus the apparently destructive mission of youth has always the pledge of a renewed existence, and like Shelley's 'West Wind' shatters 'dead thoughts' ' like withered leaves' only 'to quicken a new birth.'

Youth, as we understand it here, is not however an event, but a 'quality' of the human life. To such a fellowship of youth belong all creative artists and geniuses ; in short, all 'heroes' in the Carlylean sense—a Tagore, a Schweitzen, a Romain Rolland, a Benedetto Croce, a Felix Adler, an L. P. Jacks, a Josiah Royce and other honoured names on the roll of the ministering priests of the Church Invisible.

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[1] Geetanjali (Bengali edition), No. 37.

Is not this so-called 'Church Invisible,' it might be pertinently asked, something out and out mystical? Bereft of 'a local habitation' and 'moving about in a world not realised' does it fare any better than the Stoic cosmopolitanism with its unwavering faith in a citizenship of the world? Mystical undoubtedly it is ; but none the less secure for it—being in point of fact :—

"..................built to music
Therefore never built at all,
And therefore built for ever."

Moreover far from being a term of reproach or disparagement, mysticism is the best asset of religion, calculated to serve the best interests even of churchmanship and institutionalism. If "religion is," as Prof. Whitehead tells us,[1] " what the individual does with his solitariness," then surely mysticism is the very soul of religion. But the social disconnexion or solitariness which is a necessary phase of mysticism is not, however, the last word about it. In its true character, "mysticism is just the redemption of solitude ;" it is only pseudo-mystics that remain unto the last ego-centric and anti-social or anti-congregational. In point of fact, nearness to God and nearness to man are but two aspects of one and the same process ; for, as Eucken observed, "God and man initially meet where man is most inward " in the 'Gemüth,' to use his own expression (which perfectly corresponds to the 'Gusa' of the Upanishads) where man is truly individual. Such is the higher individualism or egoism (which is but another name of universalism) that has been taught in one of our best known theistic Upanishads : " He who sees all creatures in one Self and the one Self in all creatures can no longer remain hidden or exclusive" (*yaṣtu sarvāni bhūtāni atmanyebānupaśyati sarvabhuteshu cātmānam tato na vījugupsatē*). This is exactly the sense in which Bosanquet speaks of " self-recognition" as " another phrase for the religious consciousness" [1]— the recognition, namely, by the finite of its " true being " in "union with the whole" and " identification by faith with the greatness of the universe." So construed, it is "the justification by faith,"— a phrase more often sinned against than sinning—which the very essence of religion. Accordingly the inherent futility and self-contradiction of a self-centred life becomes nowhere more glaringly apparent than in the effort to stand alone in religious convictions, in which, after all, we are bound up with the entire world. " This is," as Lotze rightly says, [2] " the one respectable root of religious fanaticism. For, what we ourselves recognise as the highest would not be so, unless it were recognised as such by all." But quite apart from this over-individual or community aspect of religion, religious mysticism has an intrinsic worth of its own and constitutes, at least, one significant strand of the Christian church—*viz.*, " the Augustinian tradition which," according to a noted authority,[3] " has been the source of most that is best in English philosophy, no less than in English divinity." Such a mysticism, inspite of a danger-zone encircling it, has been, down the course of centuries, invoked by the highest dignitaries of the church in the best interests of churchmanship—from St. Augustine down to the Very Revd. Dean of St. Paul's. " I want," exclaimed St. Augustine, " to know God and my own soul : these two things and no third whatever ;" while the Dean of St. Paul's gave, perhaps with a full sense of the responsibility of his office, the verdict that the aberrations or exaggerations of institutionalism have been, and are, more dangerous and further removed from the spirit of Christianity than those of mysticism."[1] What the Dean said so authoritatively about Christianity applies *mutatis mutandis* to the case of all religion worth the name. In support of this contention, we can do no better than refer to a similar authoritative statement made by the poet Tagore in his address to his fellow Churchmen just a year before the Dean penned these lines. The statements are so strikingly similar that the one by the poet deserves quotation *in extenso*. "In the Brāhma Samāj, however, there is no hard and fast rule of keeping the character of man hide-bound in all conceivable ways. That is why we so often deplore that the character of our children is getting loose from day to day. Nevertheless, we have to submit to the inevitable inconvenience of this kind of uncertainty and indefiniteness; but it is against the very spirit of the Brāhma Samāj to invoke and submit to the vital mischief sought by institutional over-definiteness."[2] This he re-affirmed[3] some twelve years later in its general applicability thus: "However much we may bewail the fact that the character of our children is getting lax and cannot find shelter in an ideal, our modern education forbids us to revert to the still worse over-confinement of Orthodoxy as a remedy." It is remarkable how two representative thinkers of the East and the West in modern times, following independent lines of reflection, converge at a point of fundamental agreement as to the essentials of religion.

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[1] Religion in the Making.

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[1] Value and Destiny of the Individual, pp. 18, 20, 303.

[2] Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion, p. 166.

[3] Prof. A. E. Taylor, on " F. H. Bradley," Mind, No. 133, p. 12.

Secondly, it is the agnostic element in mysticism which has repulsed not a few who do otherwise take kindly to it. But such an agnosticism or 'learned ignorance' as it has been sometimes called, is the crown and consummation of every consider-

[1] Hibbert Journal, 1912-13, on "Mysticism and Institutionalism."

[2] From Samchaya or a Collection of Essays, in which the essay containing this passage appears in original Bengali.

[3] Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Oct. 1923, Notes and Comments.

able religion and is the peculiar heritage of all mystical writers, Christian and non-Christian, according to whom 'a comprehended God is no God.' To barter away this much-prized agnosticism for a cheap gnosticism, is to sell the very birthright of religion for a mess of pottage. 'What discredits religion,' writes Principal L. P. Jacks,[1] 'is not the unknowableness of God, but the knowableness of Mumbo-Jumbo.' There must needs ever be the 'cloud of unknowing' on the face of the Highest that we know and worship.

Lastly, exception has been taken to it on the ground that the mystic is the only thorough-going empiricist.[2] Admittedly the whole meaning of religion does not lie merely in the 'varieties of religious experience,' intended presumably to be on the exhibit as so many curios at the road-side shop-window or perhaps at a more respectable museum or cabinet of antiquities. Without subscribing to a radical empiricism on the point, and with a little reservation or modification, we have yet to reckon that experience in its integrity or '*anubhava*,' as it is called in Indian thought, has an irresistible appeal, and for the matter of that an important place, in our religious convictions and creeds. This is particularly the point which the Modernist stresses in his bold and penetrative appeal, *viz.*, a re-valuation of religion as experience rather than dogma. A steadily growing emphasis on the need of an empirical approach to religion seems to be also the immediate goal of the converging lines of reflection in many quarters of contemporary thought. This enthusiasm for 'experience' can, however, be easily overdone, and made to appear as the protest of the 'heart' against "the freezing reason's colder part," of faith or belief against knowledge and to launch a campaign against the authority of the intellect. The text of anti-intellectualism is, as pointedly enunciated by Pascal, that 'the heart has its reasons, of which the reason knows nothing.' To drive in a wedge thus between the two sides of human nature conduces neither to the interest of faith nor of reason ; and to dethrone reason from its central position or even to set up a rival authority spells disaster for both. A house divided against itself cannot stand; nor does 'man ever find rest by thus balancing himself first on one leg and then on another.' The frontier quarrels between Authority and Reason, Dogma and Free thinking, can never be ended so long as we indulge light-heartedly in a campaign against the reason or intellect which is our only availing resource and guide. The solution of this age-long conflict is feasible, if we keep our feet firm on the highway of reason through which humanity has travelled for ages and studiously avoid the slippery by-path of anti-intellectualism or emotionalism that leads nowhere. Such an imported dualism in human nature which has a functional unity is essentially a surrender to scepticism and subjectivism, pure and simple, which undermine the roots of religion as well as morals. Hence the importance of Hegel's warning: 'We must have God in our hearts, not in our feelings merely.' By this conscious departure from established usage, what Hegel insinuates is the folly of perpetuating an opposition between the head and the heart and implies that although the organ of religious apprehension cannot be feeling, a rational apprehension of the central truth of religion is not, however, bereft of a feeling-tone or elements of will. Although a sworn foe of mysticism and an ardent champion of rationalism, he never meant to commit himself to a narrow one-sided intellectualism, as is clearly evidenced by a significant exclamation of his: 'Oh, unhappy age, which must content itself merely with being continually told that there is a God.'[1] An anecdote of his life furnishes the ablest commentary on the specific character of Hegel's rationalism. Hegel, as the report goes, was not in the habit of attending church services, but would observe the Sabbath by sitting at his desk and composing his epoch-making works. One day when his land-lady, a God-fearing pious woman, out of solicitude for the salvation of the soul of that godless(?) man asked him as to why he abstained from attendance at church services, the latter is said to have replied: 'Thinking also is Divine service' (*Denken ist auch Gottesdienst*).

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[1] Realities and Shams, p. 19.

[2] Royce, The World and the Individual, Vol. I.

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[1] Philosophy of Religion, Part I, p. 229.

Thus the decentralisation of reason, and a corresponding accentuation of 'feelings' are pitfalls to be avoided. The rank subjectivism and individualism, inherent in an anti-intellectualist or anti-rational trend of thought terminate eventually in a vicious 'psychologism' or crude naturalism which cuts through the vital nerve of every healthy type of religion, morals or of mysticism, which, as I take it, is the uniting ground of the two. Such a typical psychologism we meet with in so eminent a thinker as Prof. Alexander, according to whom, God is what we worship. No wonder that he should be drawn to pay a rather left-handed compliment to the Ethical Societies which, though 'admirable institutions' in themselves, to quote his very words, do not provide for "the brute sentiment for deity" without which "we should never arrive at religion." [1] But it is hardly necessary to dilate here on the point that the Ethical Societies do not in the least arrogate to themselves the function which belongs to an Ethical Church.

Such a subjectivism or individualism has been the crying curse and standing fallacy of every period of Illumination or *Aufklörung* as the Germans call it, in the history of human thought and culture. The watch-word of the Greek illumination, as initiated by the Sophists was, as we all know, the characteristic doctrine of *Homo Mensura* or man as the measure of all things. In an age of critical reflection or free thinking and of general disorganization and disintegration, such a doctrine, by reason of its intense humanism makes a ready appeal to our much too receptive heart. In spite of this redeeming feature, the ingrained ethical subjectivism or individualism of such a doctrine stood unmasked in the Sophists' acceptance of it, and drew forth from the great pioneer humanist, Socrates, the much needed corrective to this lack of centralisation and balance in the individualistic, or what is the same thing, the unethical humanism of the Sophists. It was not *my* thought or *my* reason, as Socrates pointed out so ably, but my *thought* or *reason* which is intrinsically objective and universally legislative, that alone can, in any ethical reference, supply the supreme norm of conduct. The same is the case with the English, the German, and the French Illumination—the climax being reached, as is always the case, in the French form of it with its characteristic apotheosis 'of the sensation of the moment' as the standard of appeal in knowledge and morals of which it might not inaptly be said: 'After us the deluge.' That was indeed the logic of Omar Khayyam as embodied in the exhortation: "Take the cash in hand and let the credit go"— the inevitable motto of the life of an epicure pledged to a *carpe diem* rule of life. Such a counsel, far from being a counsel of perfection, is the guiding principle of an individual or a community that is heading straight towards moral and religious bankruptcy.

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[1] Space, Time and the Deity, Vol. II, p. 407.

Hence the relative use and importance of dogmas as the bulwark against the advancing tide of subjectivism, in all its sinister implications, which sets in sooner or later in the history of the church or general culture of a nation. The word 'dogma,' because of its past abuses and other degrading associations, has come to figure as a veritable 'red rag' to the bull of free thinking, rationalism or the Protestant 'right of private judgment.' This appeal to faith in dogmas may be construed as a return to Authority, which is directly running counter to the spirit of the times (*zeitgeist*), to the very spirit of modernism in thought and culture—modern philosophy, itself, being "Protestantism in the sphere of the thinking spirit," the story of a pilgrimage from Authority to Freedom. But freedom from what?—Not surely an 'unchartered freedom' to drift endlessly which after all 'tires' and cannot, humanly speaking, be sought for its own sake. While fully admitting that the spirit of Protestantism has not merely an historic justification but an importance for all times, it is incumbent on us to take stock sometimes of the net results accruing from the exercise of the right of private judgment in all matters affecting the welfare of the spirit. It is, confessedly, difficult in the extreme to withstand the spell of modernism or the witchcraft of the magic word 'freedom' which so often hypnotises us, and take our bearings to find out if we have not in the extravagance of enthusiasm overshot the mark. It is all the more imperative because, as we know, all reactions are radical, and we may, not infrequently, be losing the substance in trying to catch at a shadow. There is an obvious danger in perpetually whetting a knife, when there is nothing to cut, for it may, for aught we know, recoil upon those who wield it. The institution of authority or rehabilitation of dogmas is not, however, antagonistic to the ends of free thinking, when their respective relations are viewed in a proper perspective. The function of a dogma is mainly limitative or prohibitive—prescribing the limits beyond which the religious imagination or private mysticism may not in its indispensable interpretative function, go astray. It works not by mechanical dictation but by illuminating inspiration—not by annexing or annulling the right of private judgment or mysticism, but by appealing and giving ungrudging recognition to it. A dogma is never meant to be forced, as the phrase goes, down the throat of the members that belong to a particular church. It owns allegiance to the dogmas of which it is the custodian, not by invoking to its aid a supernatural machinery or authority, but by always making its appeal to the natural light of reason. So one can subscribe to a dogma without being a dogmatist. Even one of the most orthodox of the philosophic thinkers of the East, *Saṃkara*, comparable in his orthodoxy to St. Thomas of Aquino or St. Anselm of the Christian Church, observed that "if a man were to accept uncritically or indiscriminately any one of the conflicting creeds, he would be dispossessed of beatitude and hurled into evil.' [1] Thus the so-called opposition between Authority and Reason, between Faith and Knowledge, between Dogma and Experience, when seen in its truer perspective, resolves itself into 'a contrast between the private consciously acting reason of the individual and the historic reason in which is summed up the experience of the race.' [2] Rightly viewed, the dogmas of a church stand as the capitalised spiritual experience of the race, having an intrinsic rationality of their own and awaiting confirmation in the personal experience of an individual. As Prof. Radhakrishnan puts it so happily, 'what is dogma to the ordinary man is experience to the pure in heart.' [3] 'What the Church can, and does, enjoin is a provisional belief in or acceptance of the dogmas only to be brought in the end into a luminous personal focus. So the faith in question is impersonal to begin with, and ends by being personal, and thus the whole process may be viewed as a personalisation of faith. Dogma is thus experience in the making and 'faith' is but 'reason cultivating itself.' Should such a faith offend ?

There is, confessedly, the danger of possible abuse of the spirit in which dogmas are to be accepted, and the dogmas instead of acting as an asset may prove to be a handicap and deadweight in the religious life of man. So the modern man, grown wiser by past experience, may be uncompromising in his demand and be determined to do without dogmas of any kind. But this we cannot consent to do without grave mutilation or sheer starvation of our moral and religious susceptibilities, nor is the determination sane and far-sighted. Ever since the time when Prometheus stole fire from heaven all the vitally important things of human existence have been discovered to be a source of danger ; but no one outside Bedlam could regard that a sufficient excuse for banishing fire from our earthly sphere. If, as we believe, it is spirit that can bear witness to spirit, it is this corporate experience as the heritage of the past, and dogmas as the embodiments of intuitions of religious mystics and seers handing on the torch of illumination from age to age, that alone can be the instructor in matters spiritual. Without this inheritance the individuals will have to start upon their career of religious and moral probation as so many bankrupts, and remain so to the end of their career without the hope of ever being solvent. Here, as elsewhere, ' to him that hath more shall be given.'

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[1] '*Tatrāvichāryya yat kimchit pratipadyamāno nihsreyasāt pratihanyêtanarthamchêyāt*' —Commentary on Vedanta-sutras.

[2] Pringle Pattison, 'Idea of God,' pp. 62-3.

[3] Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 51.

Even the more moderate demand of the modernist for a simplification of dogmas as a rebound from dogmatic intolerance must not be pressed too far ; for, as Prof. Whitehead than whom there is perhaps no greater champion of free thinking rightly observes, 'all simplifications of religious dogma are shipwrecked upon the rock of the problem of evil.[1] That is really the acid test which exposes the inherent weakness, 'the sham heroism' of stoic fortitude or resignation or ' the living acquiescence ' which the ' God-intoxicated ' Spinoza exalted so much. Nowhere is the insufficiency of ethical subjectivism or moral idealism conjoined to a one-sided, exclusive intellectualism, rendered more flagrant than in these two typical cases. Shakespeare, with his master touch, has laid his finger precisely on this weak spot in his treatment of the classical world of heroes. When Brutus, having gone through a series of misfortunes and discomfitures, learnt on the eve of one of the most decisive battles he was going to fight, of 'the insupportable and touching loss of Portia,' his stoic heart burst and he confided in a strain of intense pathos to his intimate friend.

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[1] Religion in the Making.

> 'O Cassius! I am sick of many griefs.'

But Cassius sought to rally him round with an effective appeal to his philosophic professions.

> "Of your philosophy you make no use.
> If you give place to accidental evils:—"

Here is a tragic failure of moral idealism, or 'subjective' religion of which stoicism, along with Buddhism, has been regarded the classic example. Buddhism, however, avoids this pitfall by emphasising the conception of an Order in the so-called 'three Jewels': "I betake myself to Lord Buddha (*buddham śaranam gacchāmi*) ; I take shelter in the Teaching or the Ethical Law (*dharmam śaranam gacchāmi*); I join the (Holy) Order (*samgham śaranam gacchāmi*).

Again, Spinoza who would consistently live up to what he taught in his ethics, signally failed to sustain his intellectual aristocratism on one historic occasion. Good and evil, he taught, are incidental to the finite and temporal point of view and they cease to exist as such, when viewed in their theoretical necessity or under the form of eternity (*sub specie æternitatis*). But when he heard the news of the most brutal and cold-blooded murder of his two intimate friends, the De Witt brothers, he was about to rush from his house and denounce the dastardly murder publicly on the very spot and in the face of the fanatical mob that had perpetrated it. He was only prevented from this desperate act—which might have resulted in his sharing the fate of his friends—by his well-meaning landlord who locked him up in his own room. Our reverence for the cloistered philosopher, who had never allowed his characteristic philosophic calm to be ruffled by contingent and accidental evils of our temporal existence, increases all the more as we reckon with the truth that

> " This rage was right in the main,
> That acquiescence vain :"

—an 'acquiescence' to which he stood committed in virtue of his own persuasions in philosophy. One may try, however, to palliate these two cases of failure as the generous errors of moral idealists or as the characteristic sin of 'cloistered virtue' which does not stand us in good stead in the arena of life. But the sin I should like 'to impute to each frustrate ghost' is that of ethical subjectivism which sees the triumph of good over evil as being carried out only in the soul of man but not in the world abroad and refuses to regard the ethical values as in any sense ultimate and objective. This is exactly the same fallacy that lurks in 'a free man's worship' of which Mr. Bertrand Russell is the exponent in our own day, following the lead of Spinoza and the Stoics. Although destined to rank as one of the best masterpieces of English Literature in respect of its 'austere beauty,' 'a free man's worship exhibits a sham heroism' in 'the gospel of unyielding despair' on which it seeks to build religion. This is an inevitable sequel to his belief that 'the elimination of ethical considerations from philosophy is an ethical advance.' He would have discovered the bed-rock of religion, and a truer conception of the relation between the human and the divine in the fruitful conception of God 'as the mystic unity of what is and what should be' which, however, it is a pity he did not stop to probe deeper. If he did, he could see the salvage of religious beliefs, not in an elimination of ethical considerations, not in ethical subjectivism or inethical parochialism looking upon the moral laws as the provincialism of this planet ; but in ethical mysticism as the immediate revelation of the Divine. This, as I take it, may very well be the religion of a Rationalist.

Founding, as we do, our conception of the Church Invisible on an ethical Mysticism which reveals the eternal verities of this universe that are at the same time laid deep down in ‘ the human heart by which we live,’ it will be readily seen that it is not staked upon something precarious or provisional. It is the symbol and expression of the eternal communion—the Beloved Community, as Royce calls it—into which one may enter of his free will. Its function is to remind men always that the visible Church is only a human institution and of ‘ the folly of any church which claims to be the only way of salvation.’ Its chief importance lies in its deliverance from ‘ institutional selfishness ’ [1]—selfishness, either in an individual or collective aspect, —of man as an ethical, social or political unit. This is the very soul of religion and the undying fire ‘ of dying to live ’ which the Founder of Christianity typifies in himself. Although mystical, it is no remote theological mystery, but, God be thanked, inwoven with the very texture of human experience.[2] It is at least no more mystical than the simple phenomena of love and loyalty in which we remain loyal to the object of our love and devotion though unseen. Hegel, however, has no patience with this way of Christ whom he ridicules as ‘ the social mystic ’ and accuses him of the guilt of innocence—‘ one who demanded of his friends that they should forsake father and mother, and all that they had. If any one take thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.’ It is this aspect of heroic renunciation in the life and teaching of Christ—a Life that came to minister and not to be ministered unto—that has, however, its perennial appeal for the oriental mind. It may not be the historical Jesus, but it *is* the spiritual Christ and is, not, after all, the latter that counts in a religious reference. The conception of the

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[1] A phrase so happily coined by Principal L. P. Jacks and commented upon with such bold and penetrative appeal in the last chapter of his book ‘ Realities and Shams ’ bearing the title ‘ Institutional Selfishness.’

[2] Compare the injunction embodied in the opening verse of the *Iśopanishad*, ‘ enjoy in and through renunciation ’ (*tena tvaktena vunjīthāh*)—a precept to which Goethe would so often subscribe, as being drawn thereto by ‘ elective affinity.’

Church Invisible has its special efficacy in putting an end to the age-long controversy that has raged round the question of the historicity of Jesus Christ by pointing out clearly that nothing historical can, *as such*, be the object of our loving devotion unless it be the embodiment and exemplification of a spiritual idea. As one distinguished Unitarian Christian writer truly says[1]: "We are saved by the Jesus who came, not by the Christ who has not come. The only Jesus who ever existed at all was the non-Messianic Jesus of human history, the teacher, the prophet, the friend of man, the martyr." 'Ring in the Christ that is to be '[2]—is the standing testimony to the spiritual Christ who has not yet come. Such is also the verdict of the East that can never rest satisfied with the institutional (I avoid the term 'European' advisedly, for it is my conviction that all geographical distinctions are irrelevant in this context) side-view of the historical Jesus and has ever accepted and revered an 'Oriental Christ.'

It is this very conception of the Church Invisible that alone can guarantee the realisation of the cult of internationalism, the pathway to which lies not along the road of nationalism or consolidation of national or exclusive interests. We are told that the culture or civilisation of the present day is national in its roots, but international in its outlook—verily like the tree that has its roots struck deep down into the soil, while its branches spread far and wide into the sky above. But mischief lies always at the root. A Parliament or a Federation of Mankind must remain an idle dream, until and unless the making of the international mind is an accomplished fact; and this can only come about under the perpetual inspiration and watchful care of a Church Invisible. That is why our Scriptures declare that this antique, holy fig tree (symbolising the Infinite and the Eternal) has its roots in heaven and its branches spreading earthwards.[1] East and West can, and shall, never meet on any other condition but only and for ever in their common allegiance to the Church Invisible. In the spiritual economy of the world, there can be no senseless duplication of functions. It is because, and so far, East is East and West is West, that they can, and must, meet. The very atmosphere of this room, consecrated by the visible representation of two of the noblest samples of humanity,[2] sounds the 'trumpet of a prophecy' to an as yet 'unwakened earth'—not merely a prophecy fulfilling itself in some problematic future, but a living testimony to an eternal fellowship or meeting between the two on which alone, be it remembered, depend 'peace on earth and good will towards men.' Such a consummation, however, is no mere dream of future possibility, of some 'far-off divine event,' but is verily the everlasting Real, no mere vague sentimentalism of the Futurist, but something dwelling 'nearer than our hands and feet' as the abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls.' 'So to live is heaven' assuredly ; not to strain one's eyes and ears into the remote and the future but to live one's life perpetually attuned to the 'choir invisible of heroes' 'whose music is the gladness of the world.' There can be no other genuine enthusiasm for Humanity and no greater reverence for its ministering priests or prophets on whom the perpetual benediction of a Church Invisible broods like 'a Presence not to be put by.' Let those that have eyes to see and ears to hear preach to those that have not, and thus shall we earn the privilege to 'ring the fuller minstrel in' and inherit the bliss of 'the Golden Year' of which Tennyson had a fleeting vision when he sang so fervidly—

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[1] Dr. C. R. Bowen in Freedom and Truth, ed. by J. E. Carpenter, p. 214.

[2] Tennyson, 'In Memoriam.'

> " Ah, when shall all man's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
> Thro' all the circle of the golden year ? "

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[1] '*Urdhvamûlo' abākśakha êsho'aśvatthah sanātanah.*'

[2] *Viz.*, of Jesus and Buddha on either side of the pulpit in the Ethical Church which account for this local touch.

Almost involuntarily do we repeat: 'Ah, when?'—Not until we shall have discerned in all visible Church and other human institutions the progressive revelation of the Church Invisible as the very symbol and guarantee of that human unity or solidarity which veritably is, and not merely something evermore about to be.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

WHEN LOVE COMES

Once, ignorant and free, I thought love came
All blossom-decked and laughing in the sun
With joyous face, to claim me radiantly.
Now, wiser and enchained, I know that love
Comes never thus, nor stays in fair disguise,
As Spring transforms the barren hills, and earth
Sings ere the summer wanes, and winter's cold
Turns gold to grey and tender Spring is mute.
Love is not alone Spring's season, fragile,
Fair and fugitive, but all life's seasons;
From the year's first blooming until its close!
Love knows no season, wears no livery,
Nor dances gaily with the flowered throng
Of Spring; but bears the fullness of divine
Maturity, half-sensed, and waking in the soul
An echo of infinity, that speaks
In voice too God-like for the fleeting Spring's
First fruitage, and its evanescent hopes.

LILY S. ANDERSON

SECOND CHAMBERS

(A comparative study.)

Of the three factors of Government—the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary—the Legislature occupies the most important position. In a modern representative democracy, it constitutes really the pivot of the whole administrative system. "From the nature of its functions, the legislature must be in a certain way supreme over the other two organs, since it belongs to the legislature to lay down the general rules, which the judiciary has to apply, and in conformity to which the executive has to work, while again, so far as it regulates public finance, the legislature must exercise a general control over all the operations of government that involve expenditure."[1] Thus "the legislature not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated."[2] Again in a responsible form of government, the executive is not a body separate from the legislature. It is, in reality, a committee of the legislature itself and is responsible to, and removable by, it. The enforcement of this accountability is one of the primary functions of the modern legislature. To discharge this duty, it has to remain wide-awake and vigilant. It has to act constantly as a watch-dog.

Now invested as the legislature is with such vital functions of government, its composition and construction naturally comes in for a good deal of attention at the hands of statesmen and political scientists. The making of law is far too an important business to be discharged in a hasty, half-hazard fashion. It involves the determination of, " not what the will of the people commands, but what the reason of the people, the common consciousness, demands. The legislature must be so constructed as best to fulfil this purpose. Now the interpretation of the common consciousnsss is a far more difficult matter than the registry of the popular will. It requires research, reasoning, the balancing of opinions and interests, the classification of facts and the generalization of principles. A single body of men is always in danger of adopting hasty and one-sided views, of accepting facts upon insufficient tests, of being satisfied with incomplete generalizations, and of mistaking happy phrases for sound principles." [1] A unicameral legislature may launch upon a new measure in a moment of heat and passion—a measure that sober thoughts and calmer reason would always discard. Besides in these days of universal suffrage, a single-chambered legislature would always be in close and intimate touch with the unbridled demos and might in a moment of popular enthusiasm embark on a policy that would be quite revolutionary and subversive in its effect. It seems, therefore, quite reasonable that the popular House of the Legislature must not have an unchecked supremacy over the laws and policy of the state. There must be some check upon its action. We should set up "a counterpoise to democratic fervour," and make the provision of "an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober." [2] Now once it is established that some check upon the power of the popular assembly is essential in a well-framed constitution, the question would at once arise as to where it is to be found and how it is to be provided. The modern thinkers and statesmen are to-day almost unanimous in holding that this check is to be found "in the creation of a second assembly capable of criticizing, amending, and, if need be, rejecting measures passed by the other chamber." [3] Hence a legislature should be bicameral in structure, so that the action of the one House may be reviewed and revised in another. "Single-chamber government, it is assumed, is the apotheosis of democratic rashness. We need a brake on the wheel. We need a mechanism that enables us to delay the first, rough impulses of a body fresh from its contact with the electorate and eager in its inexperience, to embrace every kind of novelty. A Second Chamber provides exactly this safeguard." [1] It may be argued that if we need so seriously a safeguard against democratic rashness, a legislature of three chambers would better serve our purpose. But if a unicameral legislature inclines too much to radicalism, one of three chambers or more could incline too much to conservatism. The true mean between conservatism and progress would be best secured by the legislature of two chambers.[2] The two Houses would much often be engaged in a sort of natural and healthy rivalry, and each could subject the measures emanating from the other to a careful scrutiny and criticism. This conflict of views between the two chambers would supply the safeguard against hasty and ill-digested legislation.[3] Thus "the same reason which induced the Romans to have two consuls makes it desirable that there should be two chambers: that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year."[4] It is noteworthy that Second Chamber is to-day almost a universal feature of representative government. The gilded House at Westminster may be an accidental survival of medieval institutions. But the second chamber in the legislatures of the other modern states has been a deliberate creation. The constitution-makers in every country, however inspired they might have been by democratic ideals, pinned their faith to checks and balances. They did not think it advisable to entrust the legislative function of government to one popular House alone.[5]

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[1] Henry Sidgwick, Elements of Politics, p. 354.

[2] The Federalist, No. LXXVIII.

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[1] J. W. Burgess, Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law, Vol. II, p. 106.

[2] J. A. R. Marriott, Second Chambers (1910), p. 5.

[3] Lord Bryce, Modern Democracies, Vol. II, p. 437.

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[1] H. J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, p. 328.

[2] Burgess, Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law, Vol. II, p. 107.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 107.

[4] J. S. Mill, Representative Government.

[5] In France "this Bicameral system does not accord with Republican traditions for the First and the Second Republics, like the Third Republic down to 1876, were governed

As a check upon the authority of this chamber, they instituted a second deliberative body. As a result, the legislatures of all the important states are to-day bicameral in structure. A measure, before it is finally accepted, has to undergo a vigilant examination in both the chambers.

In Federal States, the second chamber serves an additional and a more vital purpose still. A Federal union constitutes really an effective compromise between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in a country. It is a mechanism to reconcile the separatist tendencies with the unifying forces in a land. A second chamber in the national legislature comes out to be indispensable in the creation of such a half-way House. " The smaller States had to be persuaded to relinquish their complete equality of representation with the larger States ; the larger States had to be coaxed into making concessions to the smaller." [1] In order to meet this difficult problem—the problem of allaying the fears of the minor states and tickling the vanity of the major ones, the national legislature has to be constructed on a bicameral basis. The lower House would represent the people of the different component parts according to their numerical strength. As such, this House is expected to be the exponent of the nation-idea in the country. The upper House could be constructed on a different principle altogether. It is to represent not the people but the different component parts in their corporate capacity. On this body all the states, irrespective of their size and numerical strength, are to be represented equally. It is meant to be the upholder of the separate identity of the states. Thus, it is pertinent to observe that " whatever may be affirmed of unitary States,

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by single chambers. But to the Monarchists in the National Assembly an upper House, sheltered from the direct play of universal suffrage, seemed essential as a barrier to democracy."—Edward M. Sait, Government and Politics of France (1920), p. 123. The constitution-makers concentrated their attention so much on the second chamber in 1875, that M. de Belcastel once observed, " The constitution of 1875 is first of all a Senate."—Quoted in p. 124, *ibid.*

[1] H. J. Ford, The Rise and Growth of American Politics, p. 48.

bi-cameralism would appear to be an essential and inseparable attribute of federalism. More than that, it is in the Senate or upper chamber of Federal Commonwealths that the federal idea is enshrined ; in that chamber is to be found the primary and effective guarantee for the preservation of this peculiar type of constitution.''[1] Without the bait of their equality of voice in the second chamber, the smaller states would not agree to enter the union. The danger of being swamped by the larger states would far outweigh the other considerations and overshadow the real merits of the union. '' The jealousy of the smaller states would have been too powerful even for the genius and tact and patience of Alexander Hamilton. It was the idea of equal representation in the Senate which reconciled the smaller states to federal-union with the larger, and in the Senate state rights are and from the first, have been, enshrined and guaranteed. '[2] The position of the second chamber in a federal union is hence quite unique. It serves here a double purpose. It acts as an ordinary revising and reviewing body in the central legislature and at the same time is based on the principle of state separatism as opposed to unified nationalism.

Now while in unitary states the second chamber has been found to be necessary and in the central Government of a federal union indispensable, '' the legislatures of the component states, cantons or provinces of Federal Commonwealths are in a class apart and demand separate consideration. Here a Second Chamber is the exception rather than the rule.''[3] Of course, '' an American State legislature always consists of two houses,''[4] and all the Australian States except Queensland, possess a bi-cameral legislature. All the provinces of Canada, however, excepting Quebec and Nova Scotia, have a single-chambered legislature. Sixteen of the Swiss Cantons and more than half the Component States of the German Reich also possess a uni-cameral legislature.[1] It is, of course, not difficult to account for the enthusiasm for a second chamber in the American and Australian States and the indifference to it in the Canadian and German provinces. The American and Australian commonwealths represent the true federal principle. In those two unions, the functions which the Central Government is to discharge are definitely made over to it by the constitution, while the residue of powers is vested in the State Governments.[2] Hence the State authorities have to bear a heavy administrative responsibility and their legislatures have to undertake many vital legislative duties. It is on this account that the people have set up a second chamber "which should at once be a brake upon 'naked democracy' and a model of tone and disinterestedness in public life." [3] Such an onerous task they have not been ready to entrust to a single legislative body. In Canada and the German Republic, centralisation has, on the other hand, gone too far to leave much important work to be done exclusively by the provinces. Canada constitutes, no doubt, a specimen of federalism but here the residue of functions is vested in the central Government and only a schedule of minor functions has been definitely given over to the provincial establishments.[4] This makes the provincial Government a minor concern and it is not likely that the people would object so much to get a few measures of little significance passed by a legislature of one chamber alone. As regards Germany, its new constitution is more unitary than federal. Legislative centralisation is throughout writ large on it. It is not expected therefore, that the people would get enthusiastic for a ' second chamber in a legislature that has very little to do.'

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[1] J. A. R. Marriott, The Mechanism of the Modern State, Vol. I, p. 409.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 413-14.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 409.

[4] Bryce, The American Commonwealth (Revised edition, 1919), Vol. I, p. 484.

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[1] Marriott, The Mechanism of the Modern State, Vol. I, p. 409.

[2] Marriott, The Mechanism of the Modern State, Vol. I, p. 239.

[3] "The Second Chamber in Australia," article by Prof. W. Harrison Moore, in "the second Chamber Problem," a pamphlet issued first on Feb. 7, 1914, as a supplement to the "New Statesman."

[4] *Cf.* "The Dominion Constitution (of Canada), though federal in form, is in spirit, unitary."—Marriott, p. 240.

Now although the necessity of a second chamber is almost universally appreciated, and bi-cameralism is an accepted principle of political science, opposition to the system of double-chambered legislature is also gaining ground. There are people who point out that "Second Chambers are a clumsy and a complicated addition to the structure of government,"[1] and serves no useful purpose. It is only a fifth wheel in the administrative machine and as much its function is obstructive rather than constructive. It impedes the progress of work instead of facilitating the governmental business. Again the democrats of to-day take up the epigram of Sieyès and ask "of what use will a second chamber be? If it agrees with the Representative House it will be superfluous; if it disagrees, mischievous."[2] They pin their faith to the sovereignty of the people and accept the representative system of government only as a means of registering their will. The legislature must be, therefore, a mirror of democracy and give expression to its opinions and desires in legal and constitutional form. In a bi-cameral system, the lower House is invested with popular character and represents the demos directly and intimately. The Second Chamber, if it is to be of any use, must constitute a check upon this body and revise and review the action of the first. In other words, it must sit on judgment upon the opinions and ideals of the people—a function not adding to, but detracting from, the merits of the legislature. A British Statesman of radical views has put the arguments against the

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[1] H. B. Less-Smith, Second Chambers in Theory and Practice (1923), p. 38.

[2] Quoted in the Modern Democracies, Vol. II, by Bryce, p. 438. See also Sir Henry Maine, Popular Government (1919), p. 178. He points out the likeness of this epigram to a similar one of the Caliph Omar "If the books," he said pointing out to the Alexandrian Library, "differ from the book of the Prophet, they are impious; if they agree, they are useless." Now "If the Koran is the inspired and exclusive word of God Omar was right; if Vox Populi, Vox Dei, expresses a truth, Sieyès was right."

Second Chamber in a clear and cogent form. "The Labour Party," he observes, "is opposed to a Second Chamber, no matter how such chamber may be constituted. It bases its opposition in the first place on the broad ground that one Legislative Chamber, elected on a democratic franchise, and by such electoral methods as will ensure as far as possible a representation of the popular will, is the best means of promoting legislation in harmony with the desires of the majority of the nation, and that a Second Chamber can in such circumstances, only serve one of two purposes—namely, if it be also elected in such a way as to represent the popular will it is a superfluous ornament and if it be composed of men nominated, or elected on a different franchise, it cannot be representative of national opinion, and is therefore a negation of popular government."[1] Hence it is clear that the only purpose which a Second Chamber may serve is "to be a nuisance to democratic progress and a protector of vested interest."[2]

The above argument, initiated by Sieyès and developed by modern statesmen puts us no doubt on the horns of a dilemma. But the way out of it is also easy. They have taken it for granted that "the voice of the people is the voice of God." that "the decisions of the community are not only imperative but all-wise." The common sense and experience of the people, however, have revolted against this doctrinaire standpoint.[3] The people much often may lose their good sense and run wild, and the popular House of the legislature representing their ideals and outlook may launch upon a dangerous measure. This "danger of hasty legislation in harmony with popular opinion—from which no form of parliamentary government is free—is reduced by securing a re-discussion of all proposed legislation, by a body independent of either the House of Representatives or the executive." [1]

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[1] Philip Snowden, the article on "the Labour Party and a Second Chamber" in "The Second Chamber Problem."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Maine, Popular Government (1909), pp. 178-179,

Here arises the necessity of a Second Chamber. Again it may be granted that a single legislative chamber that is really representative of the popular will and perfect from every standpoint, will discharge the onerous duties of the legislature with honesty and efficiency. But nobody to-day is satisfied with the representative-character of our popular Houses, nor is it a fact that the quality of the members has reached quite the satisfactory standard. "With a perfect Lower House," says Walter Bagehot, "it is certain that the Upper House would be scarcely of any value. If we had an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation, always moderate, never passionate, abounding in hours of leisure, never omitting the slow and steady forms necessary for good consideration, it is certain that we should not need a higher chamber." "But," he continues, "though beside an ideal House of Commons the Lords would be unnecessary, and therefore pernicious, beside the actual House a revising and leisured legislature is extremely useful, if not quite necessary." [2] Then it is also not unlikely that "a sinister combination of private interests" [3] may by chance come to dominate the popular House and get measures passed, opposed to the public good. In a unicameral legislature there would be no opportunity to check the progress of such a sinister game. The public would be defrauded and some private concerns would be benefited. "It is therefore of great use to have a Second Chamber of an opposite sort, differently composed," [4] which will be able to revise the measures of the lower House and nullify the selfish attempts of the private interests.[5]

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[1] Sidgwick, Elements of Politics, p. 444.

[2] The English Consitution, p. 107.

[3] Sidgwick, Elements of Politics.

[4] Bagehot, The English Constitution, p. 108.

[5] Where both the Houses are directly elective, the Second Chamber is no safeguard against corruption. *Cf.* "Moreover, the men who compose the two Houses will—an age

Now if a Second Chamber happens to be really a useful and necessary adjunct of the modern legislature, the question would at once arise as to its constitution and functions. We shall have to decide as to how it is to be formed and what duties it is to discharge. "Broadly speaking, the powers of the Second Chamber vary with the mode of its formation. They are widest where it is directly elected, narrowest where it is nominated or hereditary. The more it is popular, the more authority, the less it is popular the less authority will it possess."[1] Hence, as a writer puts it,[2] "powers and composition are parts of one equation; large powers in a Second Chamber involve direct representation, and direct representation involves large powers—the one is, as mathematicians would say, a 'function' of the other." The constitution and functions are thus interrelated and interdependent. A democratic chamber will make every effort to make its influence felt over the legislation, the finance and the administration of the State. It will never agree to play merely a subordinate rôle. Intimately connected as it is with the sovereign people, it will rival the authority of the lower House of the legislature. An appointive Second Chamber, on the other hand, will automatically sink into insignificance. Legally its powers may be large, but in practice, its authority will go by default. Its appointive character will, of itself, stamp inferiority upon it. In a democratic State, it will feel its own weakness and refrain from competing with a lower House that derives its authority directly from the people. We must, therefore, chalk out the powers that the Second Chamber is to exercise, before we proceed to

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limit makes no difference—have been drawn from the same class, no new element of knowledge or wisdom is brought in to serve the nation. In the States of the American Union, the Senates are no better than the Houses of Assembly; indeed, where corruption prevails the Senates may be worse, because as their members are fewer in number each member's vote is better worth buying and fetches a higher price."—The Modern Democracies, Bryce, Vol. II, p. 442.

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 441-442.

[2] Article "The House of Lords and its Future" in "The Second Chamber Problem" by Prof. J. H. Morgan.

settle its constitution. At present there are three classes of Second Chambers existing in different countries. In the first place, there are those which are equal, both legally and practically, to the lower House. Next we have Upper Chambers which have been assigned equal authority by law, but which in practice have come to be inferior in status. Then in the last place, there are instances of Second Chambers which are inferior both by custom and by law to the lower House.[1] The most obvious and simple arrangement is to make the two chambers co-ordinate, with equal powers ; so that the free consent of both shall be necessary to any binding decision of the legislature; and therefore, if either house refuse the consent to any proposed legislative measure, it must drop or be postponed.[2] In Federal Unions, the Second Chamber is to be, by its nature and character, a co-ordinate body. It is set up to safeguard the interests of the States from the onslaughts of the nationalist forces. As such, it must hold its own against the lower House which is organised on a national basis and is the stronghold of the centralising elements. It is quite in the fitness of things, therefore, that the federal Senates of America and Australia enjoy a co-ordinate status with the Houses of Representatives. That the Canadian Senate is not a body equal in powers to the House of Commons but is far inferior in position, does not constitute a source of strength to the Federal principle. It has only helped the augmentation of centralisation and taken away from the dignity of the component parts.

Now it may be simple, it may also be logical, that the Second Chamber should enjoy equal powers and authority with the lower House. But whether this would not complicate the legislative machinery and make it even unworkable in practice is a question that must also be faced. The American Senate has been given the tribute by Lord Rosebery that it is " the most powerful and efficient Second Chamber that exists." [1] It enjoys almost equal legislative powers with the lower House. We say almost because " all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives alone." They cannot be initiated in the Senate. The Senate, however, " may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills." Thus only with a slight restriction, the Senate has as much fullfledged authority over legislation as the lower body. This restriction also does not count for much in actual operation. Although the Senate cannot initiate any money bill, it can freely mutilate one sent up from the other House and add to, and cut out, provisions settled by the Representatives. [2] " It can not only question and stay the judgments of the commons, but may always with perfect *safety* act upon its own judgment and gainsay the more popular chamber to the end of the longest chapter of the bitterest controversy." [3] Now this co-ordinate authority has, no doubt, made the Senate powerful and influential and an effective check upon the House of Representatives, has also, on that account, been provided. But the prerogatives of the Senate have made its legislative system complex and for that reason cumbersome.[4] " Collisions between the two Houses are frequent. Each is jealous and combative.' [5] Each is prone to move along its own lines. Besides these equal powers in matters of legislation the Senate has some executive and judicial powers as well." [6] Without its consent, no appointment made by the President is valid and without its approval and sanction, no treaty with any foreign power can be come to. [7] The Senate has thus been invested with immense legislative and executive authority and occupies a most prominent place in the constitution. Enjoying such immense prestige and held high in popular estimation, the Senate is not expected to take any dictation from the lower House lying down. It will challenge every assertion of power by the House of Representatives. Under these circumstances, when " each House can stop all legislation, and some legislation may be necessary,"[1] a dislocation of the governmental machinery might easily have been apprehended in the American Federation. The two Houses quarrelling with each other and proceeding to the logical extent would have put a dead stop to all legislative and administrative business. That this danger has been avoided in the U. S. A. is due to two factors. The Senators and the Representatives do not represent two distinct orders. They may be elected on two distnct principles: the Senators are to represent the States and look to their interests, while the Representatives are to see to the interests of the nation and aggrandise the forces of centralisation. But all the same " there is really a ' latent unity' between the Senate and the House which makes continued antagonism between them next to impossible."[2] The Representatives and the Senators are drawn practically from the same classes and both represent in their persons almost all the varied interests of the country.[3] And what is more, the Senators are as much in direct touch with the people, and draw their inspiration as much from them as the Representatives. Both the Houses are therefore sensitive to public opinion. And in case of disagreement between the two chambers " either House would yield were it unmistakably condemned by public opinion."[4] It is in fact the vigilance of the people that puts the Senators and the Representatives to sense. However combative their instinct may be, the two Houses have to bend before the opinion of the people. In a country with less vigilance on the part of the public, the conflict between the two co-equal Houses of the legislature may be easily carried to the farthest extent and bring the government to a complete deadlock.

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[1] Bryce, Modern Democracies, Vol. II, p. 441.

[2] Sidgwick, Elements of Politics, p. 446.

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[1] Quoted by Woodrow Wilson in ' Congressional Government,' p. 228.

[2] Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, pp. 104 and 188.

[3] Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 223.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 223.

[5] Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 188.

[6] *Cf.* " The Senate is not only a legislative but also an executive chamber."—*Ibid*, Vol, I, p. 107.

[7] This is called " the treaty-marring power of the Senate." *Vide* Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 50.

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[1] See Bagehot, The English Constitution, p. 97.
[2] Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 224.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 225.
[4] Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 188.

The Presidential system of government in the U. S. A. has also made the co-ordinate authority of the Second Chamber less dangerous to the smooth working of the administrative machinery. The principle of the separation of powers has been faithfully accepted in America. The Executive here is not a part of the legislature. It is a body neither responsible to, nor removable by, the Congress. It is an institution altogether separate from the legislature. The question of controlling the Executive thus does not arise at all at Washington. In case, however, this prerogative was vested in the legislature, there would have been a conflict between the two Houses over this question. The Executive cannot be answerable to both the chambers at the same time. "The Cabinet government requires the ascendancy of one chamber because ministers cannot obey at the same time two different masters with conflicting wills."[1] It appears, therefore, that "a co-ordinate Second Chamber is an alien element in Parliamentary Government when fully developed."[2] The anomaly of two co-equal Houses in a Parliamentary form of government has been brought out into clear relief in the Australian Commonwealth and to some extent in France as well. The Federal Senate of Australia enjoys equal powers with the lower House, except only in matters of finance. Even in this field, the Senate exercises an authority not much inferior to that of the lower House. It may reject a money bill and though it cannot amend it, it may send in 'suggestions' for the modification of the proposed finance bill to the House of Representatives. This request of the Senate to accept the 'suggestions' and amend the measures on the lines indicated cannot be treated so cavalierly by the lower House. The privilege of making suggestions on the part of the Senate thus amounts practically to a power of amending the money bill itself.[1] Now this co-ordinate authority of the second chamber has made inevitable the conflict between the two Houses. Nor was its possibility unforeseen by the constitution-makers. They incorporated in the Constitution a provision for meeting a situation of tug-of-war between the two chambers. In case a bill sent up from the House of Representatives, is twice rejected by the Senate, the head of the State may resort to a double dissolution. Both the Senate and the House may be dissolved and a general election proclaimed. After a fresh election, the two Houses would meet in a joint sitting and the rejected measure would be decided by a simple majority of votes in this joint assembly.[2] The governmental machinery has thus been made complex and cumbrous. In case both the chambers become habitually intractable, and try to stick to their own position and assert their own respective rights, the constitution would become automatically unworkable. Besides it was apprehended just at the start that the position of a co-ordinate second chamber in a responsible form of government would be anomalous, and the constitution ushered in, would break down in actual operation. No doubt "in the Commonwealth, the Cabinet Government with its tradition of the supremacy of the lower House appears to have prevailed."[3] But all the same, the incompatibility has been keenly felt, and the attempts to assert equal authority and control over the Cabinet on the part of the Senate have given the constitution now and again a good shaking and jerking. The French Senate has also been assigned an equal position in the legislature.

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[1] Sait, Government and Politics of France, p. 135.

[2] Sidgwick, Elements of Politics, p. 449.

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[1] See H. B. Lees-Smith, Second Chambers in Theory and Practice (1922), p. 100.

[2] See Bryce, Studies in History and Jurisprudence, Vol. I, p. 517.

[3] Articles "The Second Chamber in Australia" by Prof. H. Moore in the "Second Chamber Problem."

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have equal powers in the initiation and the making of laws, except those relating to finance which must be first introduced in the chamber. It may reject a money bill, but it is not expected, by parliamentary convention, to amend it in such a fashion as to involve any additional expenditure.[1] Besides these almost equal powers in legislation and finance, the constitution has invested it with some share of control over the executive as well. According to its provision, the ministers must be responsible, not to the chamber alone, but to both the Houses. The Senate thus is expected to exercise a controlling voice over the Cabinet.[2] Over and above these privileges, the Senate enjoys again a prerogative peculiar to itself. Without its consent, the Chamber of Deputies cannot be dissolved.[3] In a cabinet form of government, when the ministers lose their support in the popular House of the legislature, they may advise the head of the State to dissolve that body and make an appeal to the country. The head of the state who enjoys the exclusive privilege of dissolving this chamber, grants, as a rule, the request of the ministers. Now possessing, as they do, such an instrument of power, the members of the executive body find themselves quite in a position to maintain the solidarity of their majority in the House. Every member is, at heart, afraid of a fresh general election which might involve his defeat and which would certainly put him to expenses. It is not lightly, therefore, that members shift their loyalty and go into the anti-ministerialist lobby. In France, however, the sanction of the Senate is essential before the Chamber of Deputies could be dissolved, and an appeal to the electorate could be made. This places the cabinet in an unenviable position. Its majority in the Chamber may dwindle, individual members, to grind their own axe, may transfer their allegiance, but still it cannot threaten them with a general election. Now not being sure of a solid phalanx of majority in the Chamber, the Cabinet cannot resist the onslaught of the Senate. The Upper House claims—and now and again enforces its claim—to exercise co-ordinate control over the executive. Thus in 1896, it was successful in driving out the Cabinet of M. Bourgeois and in 1913 a hostile vote of the Senate in connection with the Proportional Representation Bill, forced out the government of M. Briand as well.[1] Between the Chamber and the Senate, the Cabinet thus finds itself between the devil and the deep sea. Hence it is easy to conclude, that the co-ordinate authority of the French Senate has been an unhealthy anomaly from every standpoint. It has made the position of the Cabinet almost precarious and made the progress of social legislation almost impossible.[2] It is of course true that the greater popular character of the Chamber has made the Lower House superior to the Senate which "has become distinctly the less influential of the two Chambers."[3] Yet it must be remembered that "the subordinate position of the French Senate is the outcome of usage not of law."[4] In practice, it may have to yield to the more popular House but it is never content at heart with playing a second fiddle. It makes an effort now and again to brandish the weapons of its equal authority and create a situation almost hopeless and impossible.

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[1] See the article on "the French Senate" in the "Second Chamber Problem" by Robert Dell.

[2] W. B. Munro, Governments of Europe, p. 441,

[3] *Ibid*, p. 441,

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[1] Sait, Government and Politics of France, pp. 82-84.

[2] It rejected Proportional Representation Bill of 1913, the Income Tax Bill of 1909. "It was the Senate that made the Old Age Pensions Law inadequate and unworkable measure that it is. It is the Senate, with its overwhelming majority of so-called Radicals, that is now attempting to prevent the adequate taxation of the rich, who pay far less than in Germany or England, while the poor are weighed down by the burden of import duties and indirect taxes, which make the cost of living intolerable. It is the Senate which, by paralysing the legislative machinery, has made so prevalent the feeling of disgust with politics."—Robert Dell in his "French Senate."

[3] Munro, "Governments of Europe," p. 445.

[4] *Ibid.*

The Canadian Senate which is no doubt "the one conspicuous failure of the Canadian Constitution,"[1] was originally intended "to be the special protection of provincial interests."[2] Hence the Senate was invested by the Constitution with almost co-ordinate authority. The powers of the Senate, observes an eminent writer, "are equal to those of the House of Commons excepting that, by law, money bills must originate in the House of Commons, and that, by the usual convention, whilst the Senate may reject money bills it may not amend them."[3] Subject to these two minor restrictions, the two Houses are assigned by the Constitution equal rights and prerogatives. And "if," as a Canadian statesman points out, "there was a dead-lock between the House of Commons and the Senate, nothing short of a revolution could solve the difficulty...no constitutional remedy within our grasp could bring the Senate to a different view."[4] Nor has the Senate been altogether unconscious that it actually possesses immense authority over the legislative policy of the State. As soon as a new party comes to power after a long interval of opposition, "it realises that Canada possesses a powerful Second Chamber. But it is a Second Chamber of an indefensible character."[5] Composed mostly of the men of the opposite party and enjoying equal privileges with the Lower House, all its influence "is then likely to be used to hamper the new Government."[6] The equality of powers between the two Houses is, therefore, not justified by Canadian experience also.

From the review of the Second Chambers in four go-ahead democracies of the modern world, it is apparent that a bicameral legislature with two co-equal Houses is more a weakness than a source of strength to the Constitution. A Second Chamber with co-ordinate authority is a hindrance, rather than a stepping-stone to the efficiency in legislation and administration. Nor has it been proved by experience, that such an Upper House constitutes a sure protection to the interests of the component parts in a federal union. The appointive Second Chamber in Canada hampers and obstructs the business of a new Government, but as its personnel changes during the regime of this administration it begins to adjust itself to the interests of the new party in power. With the death of old Senators and the appointment of new men[1] in their stead, the colour of the Senate gets modified and it passes under the thumb of the Cabinet. It now completely subserves the interests of the Central Executive and is simply at its beck and call. No Government measure, however dangerous and inimical it may be to the particular interests of the provinces, could have any chance of being resisted in this body. It will have a plain sailing throughout. Hence it is clear that "any expectation that the Senate could protect the claims of the province has been completely disappointed."[2]

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[1] R. M. Dawson, "The Principle of Official Independence," p. 250.

[2] H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chamber in Theory and Practice," p. 57.

[3] *Ibid*, page 59.

[4] Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons on Jan. 20, 1908. Quoted in Dawson, "Principle of Official Independence," p. 241.

[5] H. B. Lees-Smith—"Second Chamber, etc.," p. 80.

[6] See the article on "Second Chambers in Canada" in the "Second Chamber Problem" by Prof. George Wrong.

Quite similar is the experience of Australia as well. The Senate here is an elective body and elections being run as usual on party lines, the members that would come over to this chamber must do so on a party-ticket. Now this party and now another would invariably control the Senate. The Labour Party which is a dominating factor in Australian public life controlled the Senate for quite a number of years. Now the public management of industries which the Labour people insist upon, the labour legislations and regulations which they every day advocate and demand, can be better undertaken by the Central Government than the provincial establishments. Accordingly, the Labour Party has pinned its faith on the

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[1] In Canada, Senators are appointed generally when quite advanced in years. It is normal, therefore, that every year some of them would pass away.

[2] H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers in Theory and Practicé," p. 58.

Central Government and its programme is directed towards more and more centralisation of public functions. This would naturally involve the pruning of State duties and rights and the ultimate overshadowing of State authority. The Senate as the mouthpiece of this Labour platform was naturally the instrument for the augmentation of Central power and the reduction of State jurisdiction. Hence "in practice the Senate has, by general consent, failed to fulfil the objects with which it was designed."[1] Instead of guarding the interests of the States for which it was specially created, it was actually converted into a body inimical to the state-rights.

A Second Chamber with co-ordinate authority thus makes the Constitution cumbrous and complex, if not altogether unworkable It, by its very nature, stands against the supremacy of the Lower House and as such proves to be inconsistent with the Cabinet form of Government which demands that only one House of the Legislature should control the Executive. And lastly, though it theoretically constitutes a plank upon which a federal Government is based, it actually never serves the purpose for which it is set up. Hence when an Upper Chamber is superimposed upon the Lower, we should not invest it with equal powers and prerogatives, but definitely assign it a subordinate position in the legislature.[2] A writer, already quoted,[3] points out in his observations on the French Senate, that "if there must be a Second Chamber, the experience of France shews that, whatever may be its constitution, it is essential that its powers should be merely suspensive as are now those of the House of Lords." The Second Chamber should be in a position to hold up a measure, passed by the Lower House, only so long as the people do not speak definitely in its favour. The

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[1] J. A. R. Marriott, "The Mechanism of the Modern State," Vol. I, p. 251.

[2] See Sidgwick, "Elements of Politics," p. 449. But, compare also "The conception of an Upper House as a mere revising body, trusted with the privilege of dotting i's and crossing t's in measures sent up by the other Chamber, seems to me as irrational as it is poor."—Sir Henry Maine in "Popular Government," p. 180.

[3] Robert Dell.

Lower Chamber may launch upon a bill and send it over to the other House. If the Upper House now thinks that the measure is going against the real will of the people it should keep it suspended until a general election shows clearly as to which way the wind blows. A Second Chamber, like the English House of Lords, should thus "act as the ally, and not the opponent of the popular will."[1]

That the Second Chamber should not on any account enjoy equal powers and rights was also the opinion of the Conference which met in London in 1917 and 1918 under the presidency of Lord Bryce to consider the future of the English House of Lords. There was a general agreement among the members of this Conference as to the proper functions of a Second deliberative body. The functions which they assign to such a Chamber would make it useful and serviceable to the State, but would not elevate it to an equal and co-ordinate position with the Lower House. They, in fact, bring out clearly its subordinate character. The functions, according to the Bryce Conference [2] are :—

1. The examination and revision of Bills brought from the House of Commons, a function which has become more needed since on many occasions during the past thirty years, the House of Commons has been obliged to act under special rules limiting debate.

2. The initiation of Bills dealing with subjects of a practically non-controversial character which may have an easier passage through the House of Commons, if they have been fully discussed and put into a well-considered shape before being submitted to it.

3. The interposition of so much delay (and no more) in the passing of a Bill into law as may be needed to enable the opinion of the nation to be adequately expressed upon it. This

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[1] H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers in Theory and Practice," p. 34.

[2] The Summary of Lord Bryce's letter on the results of the Conference in H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers," etc., pp. 32 and 33.

would be specially needed as regards Bills which affect the fundamentals of the Constitution or introduce new principles of legislation, or which raise issues whereon the opinion of the country may appear to be almost equally divided.

4. Full and free discussion of large and important questions, such as those of foreign policy, at moments when the House of Commons may happen to be so much occupied that it cannot find sufficient time for them. Such discussions may often be all the more useful if conducted in an assembly whose debates and divisions do not involve the fate of the executive Government.

Thus, in the words of an eminent writer,[1] "the prime purpose of an Upper Chamber is to serve as a brake, but not too tight a brake, upon the process of legislation. It should serve as a counterpoise to the haste and volatility of the popular Chamber. It should scrutinize, revise,—and delay when necessary. It should interpose obstacles, but not insuperable barriers, to the expressed will of the Lower House."

Now if these are the functions which a Second Chamber is to discharge, the question would at once arise as to how this body is to be constituted. This problem is perhaps the most vexed in all political science. Goldwin Smith warned us long ago that "it passes the wit of man to construct an effective Second Chamber."[2] The hereditary principle which is in vogue in England, and partially in Italy[3] need not detain us long. It is not likely to be taken seriously by sober people at this time of the day. The method of constituting the Second Chamber by appointment next comes in for consideration. In Italy, excepting a handful of princes of the Royal House who sit on the senatorial body by hereditary right, the Senators are appointed for life by the King on the nomination of the Prime Minister. The Premier, however, has not the unfettered right of nominating any and every man that he likes to place on the Senate. The Constitution has set forth certain categories of persons from which alone the Senators can be chosen.[1] Persons appointed to the Senate are expected to have a considerable stake in the country and a distinguished public service in any field behind them. Nor has this expectation of the Constitution-makers remained unfulfilled. The Italian Senate to-day is quite rich in experience and public service. In fact, " no Upper Chamber in any country includes in its membership a large amount of brains, education, scientific attainment, and political experience." [2] "Yet its influence upon the course of public policy has been next to negligible. The people pay very little attention to what it does or fails to do." [3] The experience of Canada also tells the same tale. The Senate here is also an appointive body. The Prime Minister can nominate any Canadian to the Senate provided he is not less than thirty years of age. The only other restriction put in his way consists in the fact that " the four naturally differentiated areas of the country " should have equal representation on the Senate. Hence the Premier cannot nominate more than twenty-four Senators from any one of these areas.[4] At the moment the constitution of Canada was being shaped, the ambition of the Constitutional architects was to " render the Upper House a thoroughly independent body—one that would be in the best position to canvass dispassionately the measures of this House and stand up for the public interests in opposition to hasty or partisan legislation." [5] This hope has been completely belied. The Senate to-day, far from inviting the confidence of the people, does not enjoy its own confidence even. It has justly been described as "the pocket borough"[1] of the Ministers. It is consistently a partisan body—composed only of the blind supporters of the ministry. "To talk of its being in any sense judicial or independent is nonsense."[2] We may therefore state definitely that along with the experience of Italy that of Canada as well "teaches us that life nomination is not a system for other countries to initiate."[3] "Life tenure in a legislative body is a handicap. It leads straight to impotence. If an Upper Chamber is to exert a real influence in law-making, its members must be directly or indirectly elected by the people."[4]

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[1] W. B. Munro, "Governments of Europe," p. 447.

[2] Quoted in Marriott, "Second Chambers," p. 1.

[3] The Princes of the Italian Royal House are Senators by hereditary right.

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[1] See Munro, " Governments of Europe," p. 660. There are 21 such categories named in the Statute.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 671.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 671.

[4] H. B. Lees-Smith, " Second Chambers " etc., p. 57.

[5] The Confederation debates—the speech of Hon. George Brown quoted by R. M. Dawson in " The Principle of Official Independence, " p. 241,

An indirectly elective Second Chamber has been in operation in France and it was also experienced by the United States for a century and a quarter. In France, the members of the higher local bodies and the delegates of the smallest ones are organised into an electorial college in every department of the country. It is this college that sends the members, for that particular departmental area, to the Senate.[5] This method of election was modelled on the American plan of electing the Federal Senators by the State legislatures. The Senate of the United States "was meant to be a cool, calm, cautious, conservative body composed of elder statesmen." And hence it was to be "chosen not by the people but by the legislatures of the States who, being themselves picked men would be qualified to choose as Senators their own best citizens."[6] This was the hope entertained by the Constitution-makers of the U. S. A. And more than half a century later John Stuart Mill also blessed the system and recognised it to be an excellent arrangement. He was not in favour of indirect election as such, but he thought that when the electoral body was invested with other permanent duties and election of the Senators was only a subsidiary business, the system would work well. "The case," he observes, "in which election by two stages answers well in practice is when the electors are not chosen solely as electors, but have other important functions to discharge, which precludes their being selected solely as delegates to give a particular vote. This combination of circumstances exemplifies itself in another American institution, the Senate of the United States."[1]

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[1] The phrase of Alexander Senator, quoted by Dawson, p. 250.

[2] Quoted by Dawson from the Canadian Monthly, p. 251.

[3] H. B. Lees-Smith, p. 81.

[4] W. B. Munro, "Governments of Europe," p. 671.

[5] W. F. Dodd, Modern Constitutions, Vol. I, pp. 295-32 and 310-316.

[6] Bryce, "The Modern Democracies," Vol. II, p. 63.

The judgment of John Stuart Mill, however, failed him on this question, and the election of the Senators in the U. S. A. instead of being a subsidiary business as it should have been, became the primary concern of the State legislatures. "It brought national politics into these bodies, dividing them on partisan lines which had little or nothing to do with State issues. It produced bitter and often long protracted struggles in the legislatures over a senatorial election, so that many months might pass before a choice could be made It led to the bribery of legislators by wealthy candidates or by the great incorporated companies which desired to have in the Senate supporters sure to defend these interests."[2] Accordingly an agitation against this system was launched upon and finally in 1913 the Constitution was amended and the power of electing Senators was transferred from the State legislatures to the peoples of the States.[3] And now the federal Senators are elected directly by the people in every State.

The experience of France also in this matter of indirect election is not pleasing at all. "The work of the electoral colleges in France," says Munro, "reminds one of the nominating conventions in America; there is the same attempt on the part of the political leaders to manipulate the proceedings in advance, the same manoeuvring and forming of combinations, the same frequent triumph of dark horses over strong men. There is the same lavish outpouring of promises and usually the same rumours of corruption float through the air."[1] The experiences of the U. S. A. and France thus tell us definitely that the principle of indirect election need not be entertained seriously at all. In theory it may be alluring but in actual operation it has been found wanting.

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[1] Representative Government.

[2] Bryce, "The Modern Democracies," Vol. II, p. 6-.

[3] Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," Vol. I (New Edition, 1919), p. 101.

Next we are to consider the method of forming the Second Chamber by direct election. The Federal Senates of the U.S.A. and Australia are constituted on this principle. But, says a recent writer, "The experience of Australia leads one to discard direct election as a method of constituting the reformed chamber. The elected Second Chamber tends to dispute the power of the First Chamber, especially in matters connected with finance."[2] That a House drawing all its influence and inspiration directly from the people would not like to play a second fiddle to the Lower House is clear enough. But in case it is made definitely inferior to the Lower House by constitutional provisions, it cannot but be content with its position. In that contingency, of course, there is the danger that first rate merit may not flow at all to the Second Chamber. It may be the dumping ground of mediocre elements alone. The Lower Chamber would be the arena for all important political fights. All the important debates and discussions would be held in the Chamber and upon its moods and temper will depend the fate of the ministry. All the thrills of political warfare will, in fact, be enjoyed by the people in this House. Here will be won the laurels of victory in debate and here it is that the future of a politician would be shaped and assured. As a matter of course, therefore, all the ardent and ambitious spirits would flock to the Lower House leaving the Upper Body to the dandies and the dowdies.

There is again the drawback of a directly elected Second Chamber that it may be merely a duplicate of the first. In these days, all the Lower Houses are elected by universal suffrage. Nor can the Second Chamber, if it is to be elective at all, be elected on the basis of a narrower franchise. "Election on a restricted franchise exposes the Chamber to the charge of being a class body, habitually opposed to the popular will."[1] This would alienate the sympathy and support of the people from the Second Chamber and diminish its utility as a revising body. In case, however, both the Houses are elected by the same voters, one may represent the same political opinions as the other and both may be constituted by the same class of members. This also would take away considerably from the merit of the Second Chamber as a revising House. If both the Houses are dominated by the same political parties, and think alike on all political questions, the Second Chamber instead of criticising and moderating the views of the lower body, could only ditto them. Now, in order to obviate this difficulty, some devices have been thought out and applied. The Representatives and Senators may be elected at different times and enjoy different tenures of office. The members of the Lower House in America are elected for two years, while the Senators enjoy a longer tenure and continue for six years.[2] Coming out of the polling booths at different times, the Representatives and the Senators may belong to different political parties and embody different political opinions. Again both in Australia and the U. S. A., the Senatorial Constituencies are far larger than those for the House. A Senatorial constituency is really coterminous with an entire State. All the voters throughout the State constitute a single constituency for the election of the Senators.[3] Elected by these larger constituencies, they are expected to possess a different political complexion from the Lower House. In many of the American States, the whole geographical area is divided into senatorial districts. Each such district returns one Senator under the plurality plan, while it returns three representatives under the cumulative plan. This difference in the manner of voting creates a salutary political difference between the two Houses.[1] There is again a widespread idea that while the Lower House should be elected by single-chamber constituencies, the Second Chamber should be constituted on the basis of proportional representation. This has been supported by the authority of the members of the Royal Commission on Electoral Systems. The report of the majority of the members pointed out that "there should be much to be said in its (single transferable vote) favour as a method for the constitution of a Second Chamber." [2]

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[1] "The Governments of Europe," p. 637.

[2] G. B. Roberts, "Functions of an English Second Chamber," p. 230.

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[1] Bryce, "Modern Democracies," Vol. II p. 443.

[2] Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," Vol. I (New Edition), pp. 97, 128.

[3] Marriott, "The Mechanism of the Modern State," Vol. I, p. 244.

It thus seems to be possible by means of any or all of these devices to meet the difficulty of mere duplication which the system of direct election involves. And as to the claim for equal power and authority which directly elective Second Chambers may naturally put forward we have seen that this danger can be obviated by definite constitutional provisions. Now, once these drawbacks are removed or substantially modified, the objection to a directly elected Second Chamber falls to the ground. This would not make an ideal Second Chamber, but this would create one that is the least objectionable and the most useful that we can have.[3]

NARESH CHANDRA RAY

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[1] Walter F. Dodd and Sue H. Dodd, Govt. in Illinois, p. 110.

[2] Quoted in J. Fischer Williams, "Proportional Representation and British Politics," p. 56.

[3] The Bryce Conference recommended that the Lower House should elect the members of the other House. This will involve the same corruption which we experience in other systems of indirect election.

WHEN I SHALL DIE

(*A poem*)

When I shall die,
The noisy life of crowded town
Will be the same in festive gown,
The smile and tear, the joy and frown,
Will be the same by meadows brown.
None be lonely,
Only,
The boughs will sigh,
As winds pass by ;
When I shall die.

When I shall die,
The rosy morn in her pink blush,
Shall change her tint in colours lush,
The gay song-bird, the child of light,
Will sing all day in arbour bright.
None be lonely,
Only,
As winds will listen,
Dew-drops will glisten,
When I shall die.

When I shall die,
The shining grace of Night's pearl belt
Round Phoebe's neck, will still be felt.
Below on earth lovers will kiss,
Enjoying Elysian bliss.
None be lonely,
Only,
The nightingale
Will mourn o'er dale
When I shall die.

When I shall die,
The world will go in its own way.
In turn shall pain and joy have sway.
Friends will meet friends, mother her son,
New hopes will spring, new works be done.
None be lonely,
Only,
A tear, a sigh,
In dark shall lie.
When I shall die.

MATILAL DAS

W. B. YEATS

VI

THE SYMBOLIST MOVEMENT.

Critical estimate of the Symbolic Movement:

The Symbolist movement in modern (particularly French) literature is generally traced to Gerard de Nerval (1808-55). It started as I have just said as a natural reaction against the hard, clear-cut, well-defined form of expression practised by poets like Hugo whose chief care was precision of form. This tendency was unfortunately carried to excess by Flaubert according to whom even "the idea is born of form." Then came Zola and Dr. Heredia to be followed by Anatole France till with Nerval's school-fellow Gautier[1] (1811-72) became finally achieved the complete triumph of poetic form among the Parnassian "artists for art" (1869-76) like Leconte de Lisle (whose pupil José-Maria de Heredia was and to whom he dedicated his "Les Trophées, 1893).

This reaction primarily aimed at representation of concrete, beautiful objects which, after all, are so evanescent as to **suggest**[2] *the indefinable beauty that is eternal and changeless.* Form now became artistically chiselled or filed into the finest shape by this process which discarded religiously all (rhetorical)[3] devices calculated to *persuade and convince* as also all emphasis on *externality,* so that divested of encumbrances the *inner spirit,* the real essence freed from outer crusts of literature (and specially of poetry), may be completely set free, till, thus etherealised, literature may function as religion, appealing not so much to our senses as to our very soul by reawakening the imagination and through emotional fervour.

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[1] Like Yeats he too worked for a time in a painter's studio.

[2] *Vide* Poe's Prose Works (p. 273, Scott Library) and "The Poetry of Edgar Allan Poe" by Andrew Lang.

[3] *Cf.* p. 190 of "Autobiographies, etc." for Yeats's art principle of avoiding rhetoric in poetical compositions and also Sec XXIX, pp. 125-126,

The *unseen* is clearly **felt** and then sought to be transformed from an airy nothing into an artistic embodiment. In essence this too is *Renanism*—only the critical is here replaced by the mystic side of Renan. This new attitude had for its outstanding exponent in criticism Charles Morice (born 1861—) whose "La Litterature de tout à l'heure" appeared in 1889 as a professed defence of Symbolism. Carlyle has practically defined the scope and meaning of symbolism in *Sartor Resartus*[1] (1831-34) as a more or less distinct and direct embodiment and revelation of the Infinite in such a way that the Infinite may be made to blend itself into one whole with the finite, so as to stand *visible* and the visible is alleged to be specially the poetic sphere of Théophile Gautier.

I have emphatically drawn your attention to Yeats's dreams and visions to which I shall have to refer again. Here I must mention that Yeats was in this respect anticipated in regard to the value to be attached to dreams and visions, considered as a medium of the penetration of the encompassing *Unseen* into the transitory world of sense perception by Gerard de Nerval. The latter spoke of "the overflowing of dreams into real life," blurring the line of demarcation between the dream-world and the world of so-called actual reality. "To have drunk of the cup of dream is to have drunk of the cup of eternal memory"—applies specially to Nerval.

It must be mentioned here that the extravagances, eccentricities, vagaries, and uncertainties of life and aim characterising in French literature such advocates of Symbolism as Nerval, Mallarmé, Baudelaire (the cynosure of the Parisian Bohemian society of his day) brought a good deal of discredit to their theories, art-principles, and critical canons. Their Bohemian life exposed them to the charge of being *decadents* and neurotics.[1] In fact several of these artists had actually to spend a good part of their sad lives in lunatic asylums (as did Strindberg) maintained by Dr. Dubois and Dr. Blanche and some even made their exit from the stage of life by suicide.

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[1] *Cf.* Bk, III (specially) Ch. III.

To return to the element of visionariness. "The cosmical visions" of Gerard de Nerval "are at times so magnificent that he seems to be creating myths." This reminds us forcibly of Shelley's mytho-poeic faculty But it was left to Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-98) to use Gerard's visions as materials of the symbolist's theory of a new æsthetics and to Gautier to show how a new style of criticism must be devised to properly appreciate the significance and importance of Gerard's art which makes of poetry a miracle—"not beauty's mirror but beauty itself, the colour, fragrance, and form of the imagined flower as it blossoms again out of the page.. ......and Gerard knew that vision is the root out of which the flower must grow. Vision had taught him symbol, and he knew that it is by symbol alone that the flower can take visible form." Carlyle's emphasis on "the visible" here reappears in an artistic *milieu*.

Symbolism and Beauty.

Beauty of a different type—austere, intellectual beauty, which so inconstantly visited Shelley—was the object of Villiers-de-L'Isle Adam's worship, symbolised in his case by the Catholic Church. His attitude towards the mysteries of the spiritual world was very curiously determined exactly as in Yeats[2] by his interest in *Kabbala*, white magic, and the occult, as evidenced by his *Isis* and *Axël* and also by his leaning towards Oriental mysticism. "Become the flower of thyself!" he says almost in the language of a Hindu, "thou art but what thou thinkest;

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[1] "Heine, De Musset, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Leopardi, Carducci, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Poe, and Hearn can all be studied like patients suffering from neuroses." (*Cf.* p. 120 of The Erotic Motive in Literature.)

[2] *Cf.* "Autobiographies, etc.," p. 456 and pp. 474-77.

therefore think thyself eternal.'' In him, as later in Yeats, there was a revolt against materialistic science which accepts illusions for reality and in the midst of such illusions, he believed, men generally live. His constant endeavour was to escape from such a world into the **ideal** world (as represented by his soul dramas full of symbolism such as Elën (1864), La Révolte (1870), Axël or his spiritualistic romance *Isis* (1862).

This creator of French symbolic drama and fiction most resembles Shelley in his Quixotic idealism. To him too the spiritual world wäs the only reality. As Shelley says in *Prometheus Unbound* "to each man his own heart is its oracle,'' in the fashion of the German Romantic philosophers, so does Villiers— "*A chacun son infini.*'' These abstract minds equally fail to adequately realise and make necessary allowance for the weeknesses of ordinary mortals—" the obscure fractions of humanity '' ! " As for **living** " cries the hero[1] Axël d'Auersperg, disdainfully rejecting whatever is not infinite, "our servants will do that for us!'' and if the creator of this hero at all *lived* he lived, as he says,—"*je vivais par politesse* '' because, very probably, of *noblesse obligé de la haute noblesse* !

He belived also like Yeats in the world of spirits strengthened by his unshaken **faith** against the evidence of the senses which led to his hostility to materialistic science or the so-called idea of scientific progress. Yet he succeeded in completely conquering his pessimism against which, as we shall see, Yeats however never had to fight.

Arthur Rimbaud (1854-91), the literary *enfant terrible,* was a dreamer of a different type—one to whom vision always meant force, creative energy (as if in anticipation of Bergson and Nietzsche). This force takes on at times the very colour of true insight divesting him of all personality when he enters on the universe of quaint fancies that breed the symbolism, for instance, of "*voyelles*" (in the sonnet of vowels)—

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[1] This French drama has recently been translated into English and Yeats has written a Preface for it (and T. Sturge Moore furnished the decorations as in the case of Yeats's latest volume " The Tower," 1928).

" A noir, E blanc, I rouge,
U vert, O bleu"

andso on.

In such an eccentric mood he explains, as he avers, "my magical sophisms by the hallucination of words " reminding us of Blake. His quest is for ever the quest of the Absolute. In his mystic emotionalism he goes so far as to declare that " action[1] is not life, but a way of spoiling something "—a doctrine fundamentally opposed to the modern ideal of the *will to do*. Yet he clung tenaciously to life even when the cruel icy hand of the Reaper, who gathers his harvest not always of the ripe grain, was ruthlessly on him just as his friend and disciple Paul Verlaine too was passionately attached to life and nervously afraid of death, like an ancient Greek, as of an **ugly** region of cold! He was balked of achievement exactly in the way the mystic fails to successfully and intelligibly address the profane world at large, being like Spinoza too full of divinity. Even his visions flit—come and go in a hurry—leaving behind mere fragments that refuse to be definitely outlined or embodied as often happened to Shelley and Blake. His revolt as a mystic was mainly against the elaborate paraphernalia of civilisation somewhat after the manner of a Thoreau, an Edward Carpenter or an Amiel but totally dissociated from the hard cynicism of Nordau.

Paul Verlaine (1844-96) was the French, as Hölderlin the German, Keats who combined with a keen eye for *concrete beauty* in every by-way of life and nook and corner of the external world the lovable trait of Shelleyan childlikeness and a fierce subjectivity. **Mood** was with this bafflingly Protean artist something of a violent passion as with Burns, with the youthful Goethe and to some extent Byron. Mr. Symons holds that his "whole art was a delicate waiting on moods in whose succession lies the more intimate part of our spiritual life." I have already said a good deal about Yeats as a lyrist of moods and I need not dwell at great length here on the affinity between Verlaine and Yeats in this respect. Let me note, however, that as a lyrist of *moods*, this "*enfant de Bohème*" did honour to a well-known French literary tradition started by the least rhetorical poet Villon (1431-1484) and handed down by Régnier and Piron to many a singer of the present day. According to a critical anthologist "Verlaine was a **personal** lyrist whose personality was perhaps rather the old romantic egoism, with an added candour, than the waste of evanescent moods which the typical symbolist 'evokes' by obscure and singular associations with the sensible world." Another point of contact between Verlaine and Yeats lies in the former's "De la musique[1] avant toute chose" (occurring in *Romances sans paroles* of 1874, so full of mystic **moods**). As in Yeats's case, Verlaine's religious faith is more emotional than intellectual and full of mystic hints (*cf. Sagesse*, 1881) and like Yeats, he too had his "conversion" (though at Mons gaol). Both are remarkable for experiments with harmony and rhythm,[2] only Verlaine's aesthetic theory was that "versified music would do more than accompany the idea; it would evoke the sensation, the memory and the true correspondence" (for he believed in the Swedenborgian doctrine of *correspondences*), "as a perfume represents—visions and images." Verlaine is *par excellence* the musical impressionist of his day and appeals mainly to the ear and adds to French poetics (*cf.* his *Art Poetique*) the new element of haunting melody so characteristic of Yeats too. "Despairing of plain words as an adequate medium Verlaine (and after him Mallarmé) took refuge in their Symbolic and musical allusiveness." One may be justified in referring to Poe's "Ulalume" (specially stanzas I and VII) in this context, if not also to "The Bells" and "The Haunted Palace."

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[1] The similarity of this idea with that of Poe is remarkably striking. He held that poetry had little to do with intellect or conscience being confined within the realm of beauty pure and simple and having no dependence on truth or duty.

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[1] As regards Yeats *vide* Calcutta Review for May, pp. 148-149.

[2] *Cf.* the "Innesfree" poem which is Yeats's first lyric with a rhythm of his own music. Poe defined poetry, we remember in this connection, as "the rhythmical creation of beauty" and Poe was a semi-Celtic.

"The Cheshire Cheese" of Yeats in the Strand of London for holding nightly meetings of the Bohemian Rhymers' Club consisting, among others, of Lionel Johnson, E. Dowson, J. Davidson, Arthur Symons, H. Horne and Oscar Wilde, reminds us of Verlaine's *salon* of the Rue Royer-Collord (represented in a group-photograph of 1889 entitled *Une Soirée chez Paul Verlaine*) noted for its literary Wednesdays.

About 1895-96 Yeats often visited Paris and stayed there now and then, though never very long at one time. His ideal of these years, we learn from him, he put into his description of Proud Costello. While in France, Yeats at first stopped with Macgregor Mathers and his wife near Champ de Mars or in Rue Mozart, but later, all by himself in a students' hotel in the Latin Quarter. On Sundays Mathers had evocation of spirits and spoke of having met his Teachers (*cf.* Theosophists' Master).

William Sharp visited Yeats in Paris and had telepathic vision. "Fiona Macleod" was even then Sharp's "imaginary beloved" though he had an admiring and devoted wife. Paul Verlaine too alternated between the two halves of his nature and Yeats met him in the Rue St. Jacques where he had coffee and cigarettes with him.

Arthur Symons who took the place of L. Johnson as Yeats's intimate friend influenced Yeats by his valuable ideas regarding poets and artists. Yeats admits that Dowson (though usually drunk and full of sensual desire) felt the fascination of religion, *i.e.*, for a condition of virginal ecstasy, but his poetry was sad—somewhat like Villon's—and he sang

"Unto us they belong
Us the bitter and gay
Wine and woman and song."

Dowson, Johnson, Horne, Symons had, says Yeats, what he lacked, *viz.*, conscious deliberate craft and scholarship. They taught him that violent energy (which spends itself out soon) is useless in the arts. What artists' require is power to be steady, power to think, analyse what they have done, to be content to have outside interest, to conserve their vitality, keep their mind under control and make technique sufficiently flexible for expression of the emotions of life as they arise.

Through Symons Yeats's " thoughts gained in richness and clearness." His theory and practice owe much to passages read out to him by Symons from Catullus, Verlaine, and Mallarmé. At one time **Axël** appeared to Yeats to be the Sacred [1] Book he longed for. " Is it true," Yeats asks once, " that our air is disturbed, as Mallarmé said, ' by the trembling of the veil of temple ' or ' that our age is seeking to bring forth a sacred book '? Towards the end of the last century that book seemed close at hand but the tide sank again." He then adds—

" An Irish friend of mine lives in a house where beside a little old tower rises a new great Gothic hall and stair, and I have sometimes got him to extinguish all light but a little Roman lamp, and in that faint light and among great vague shadows blotting away the unmeaning ornament, have imagined myself partaking in some incredible romance. Half a dozen times, beginning in boyhood with Shelley's *Prometheus* [2] *Unbound*, I have in that mood possessed for certain hours or months the book that I longed for ; and Symons without ever being false to his own impressionist view of art and of life, deepened as I think my longing."

" It seems to me, looking backward, that we always discussed life at its most intense [3] moment, that moment which gives a common sacredness to the Song of Songs, and to the Sermon on the Mount, and in which one discovers something supernatural. Symons' translations from Mallarmé, Verlaine, Calderon, St. John of the Cross are accomplished metrical translations of our time and I think that those from Mallarmé may have given to my verses of these years, to the latter poems of *The Wind among the Reeds*, to *The Shadowy Waters*, elaborate form while Villiers de L'Isle Adam had shaped whatever in my Rosa Alchemica Pater had not shaped.''

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[1] At one time Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* was considered as his sacred book.

[2] Once this *Prometheus Unbound* was accepted by Yeats as his sacred book (*vide* " Autobiographies, etc.," p. 107, and also pp. 79 and 82, regarding Shelley's influence).

[3] With regard to the value of such a moment to poetry I may refer to " The Idea of Great Poetry " by Lascelles Abercrombie (1926).

He next emphasises, however, his own development independently of these influences and says '' Yet I am certain that there was something in myself compelling me to attempt creation of an art separate from everything heterogeneous and casual, from all character and circumstance. Certainly I had gone a great distance from my first poems, from all that I had copied from the folk-art of Ireland.'' Yeats's early championship of Ireland's folk-art and folk-poetry suggests a comparison between Yeats, as an enthusiastic popularizer of native folk-tales, folk-songs, fairy-tales and, generally, of all sorts of literature belonging to the common people, the peasantry, the fisher-folk, and the younger group of early nineteenth century German romanticists like Chamisso, Fouqué, Eichendorff, Rückert, Uhland, Kerner and Müller. Even '' The Celtic Twilight '' reminds us of the famous collection of German songs and ballads '' *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* '' (1806-8). Similarly Yeats's romantic-mystic **rose** symbol has its analogue in Novalis, whose '' *die blaue Blume* '' in his Heinrich von Ofterdingen (1802) as the grail-quest of poet-idealists suggests symbolically poetic longing and mystery and happens to be the progenitor of Ernst Schulze's romantically enchanting Rose (*die bezauberte* Rose, 1813). Ancient German folk-legend makes, we know, much of its *Wunderblume* (magic flower). Professor Herford rightly observes in ''Germany in the 19th Century'' that '' the instinct for song and for folk-song is almost universal in the German people, and counts for not a little in their manifold achievement.'' ***It was blood and iron and **song** which shattered the power of imperial France in 1870, and planted the new empire on its ruins."

Much of Yeats's passionate simplicity, as a poet-artist bent on rousing the masses of his fallen and degenerate country, owes itself to his näive child-like fondness for Irish *primitive* folk-poetry and great is the service rendered to Ireland's regeneration and new life by Yeats's *symbolic.* handling of simple themes. Germany, Norway, Russia and Ireland stand in this respect on a footing of equality, or, at any rate, they all possess a family likeness. Yeats rediscovers the very soul of primitive Ireland and, along with his collaborators in the Celtic Movement, gives this revived idyllic Ireland a long lease of fresh vitality.

Has not his ''Celtic Twilight '' immortalised the vanishing charms of the simple life of the Irish peasantry living in intimate association with ghosts and fairies among the primeval forests and hills, sea-shores and lake-sides, so extraordinarily rich in memories of a subtle yet näive faith somewhat prone to superstition, no doubt, that alone sufficeth to take the edge off all daily trials, sufferings, privations, dangers, poverty, want, and *oppression* enough to make life a miserable burden ? Yeats earnestly appeals like Herder to his literary comrades to collect after the manner of Bishop Percy the yet unforgotten, though scattered and fragmentary, popular poetry [1] of Ireland potent in its imaginative suggestiveness and he personally undertakes this national work with keen enthusiasm. Yeats and his friends achieved what the Grimm brothers accomplished for Germany. The parallelism may be pushed a little further by pointing out how Indian philosophy and poetry (through translations) influenced the German- Romantic Movement and the Celtic **Literary** Movement. Yeats's literary [2] lectures also resemble the Berlin lectures (1801-4) and the Vienna lectures (1805-12) of the Schlegels. Under the influence, partly of the Pre-Raphaelites and partly of symbolism, Yeats's verses now became "all picture, all emotion, all association, all mythology " and in criticism he exalted " Mask and Image" above 18th century logic (which his friend O'Leary however loved much) and began to set experience before observation and emotion before fact. .Ireland torn to pieces between 1870 and 1890 by the factious wrangling of the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, the terrible land war, Nationalist Dublin seething with discontent, Maud Gonne bent on turning France against England, the narrowness of the Unionist moderates whose literary champion was Dowden who became untrue to Goethe in having transferred his allegiance to Wordsworth—" the one great poet," according to Yeats, "who after brief blossom was cut and sawn into planks of obvious utility,"—all these filled Yeats with despondency bordering on despair and he earnestly turned for strength and solace towards a fresh fountain of poetic inspiration and spiritual joy. We should not forget, however, that while in Paris once after witnessing at the *Theatre de L'Œuvre* a performance of Alfred Jarry's " Ubu Roi " he got sad on his return to Hotel Corneille at night because " comedy, objectivity, had displayed its growing power once more." His observations made with reference to this are worth quoting. "After Mallarmé, after Paul Verlaine, after Gustav Moreau, after Puvis de Chavannes, after our own verse, after all our subtle colour and nervous rhythm, after the faint mixed tints of Conder, what more is possible ? After us the Savage God." It was at this time that Yeats met also Strindberg in a Café where a French-American actually proposed to establish a communistic colony of artists in Virginia because he held that "art has never flourished twice in the same place." A third person whom Yeats met there was a German poet, Douchendy, whose poems were without verbs, for, that poet considered a verb to be at the root of all evil in the world and he wished for " an art where all things are immovable, as though the clouds should be made of marble" and he also heartily scorned reality! And Symons, who was largely influenced by Paris which was then concerned with nothing so much as *impressionism* and who in his turn influenced Yeats, hated generalisations and ideas. Yeats was for what he called pure[1] poetry—*i.e.*, poetry free from "the impurities" of politics, science, history and religion which, as he thought, occasionally marred the poetry of Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne.

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[1] *Cf.* Book II, p. 241 of " Autobiographies, etc." (re 1891).

[2] *Cf.* "Autobiographies, etc.," p. 250, regarding the condition of Young Ireland in the 90's of the 19th century. The efforts of Yeats bore fruit in 1907 by giving a chance of appreciation to Synge,

Development in Yeats.

Some of Yeats's "Cheshire Cheese" companions represented a transition all Pre-Raphaelite and some were totally indifferent to subject, caring only for manner of execution which became to Yeats as an artist and art-critic all in all. Now indifference to subject was the commonplace of art criticism since Bastien-Lepage, Carolus Duran and others. All these men of extraordinary talent including Verlaine were destined to live wild passionate lives and die tragic[2] deaths. Between 1887 and 1891 Yeats was a Pre-Raphaelite and deeply studied the poetry of Blake and Rossetti. He then held that poetry should be opposed to realism and concern itself chiefly with beauty, though he wanted to combine with beauty, nobility and passionate austerity besides music. His traditional religiousness made it impossible for him to long remain a member of the Socialist group of William Morris who discovered in *The Wanderings of Usheen* "his own kind of poetry." He came into close touch with[3] Oscar Wilde and had as close an affinity with Blake and Shelley, yet he seldom does more than set a temporary foot on the outer frontiers of the romantic[4] Bohemia into the inner circle of which plunged blindfolded such artists of the Symbolic school as Verlaine. Yeats quickly retraced his errant steps urged possibly by his religious temper and in part by his cultural sympathies. It is rather unfortunate that the Symbolists who, strictly speaking, are the followers of Mallarmé as distinguished from those of Verlaine or Baudelaire known as Decadents, found an ally in that famous exponent of a somewhat morbid, somewhat neurotic, yet intense restlessness and pessimism, Charles Baudelaire (1821-68), who gave poetic expression to the weariness of the soul in fine musical lines suggestive of emotional excess bordering on *hysteria.*[1] Baudelaire was attracted by a mysterious sympathy of imaginative affinity to the hysterical genius of Edgar Allan Poe whom he attempted to interpret in his own way from 1852 to 1857 and again in 1864-65. Nostalgia for an exotic bliss—partly a vision and partly a romantic memory—was the shape that his poetic hysteria took. One of Baudelaire's "*Little poems in prose,*" "The Glass-vendor," contains, for instance, the passage—

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[1] L. Abercrombie is very hard on "pure poetry" which he attacks in his Lecture (I) on Diction and Experience Moments of Greatness" as a modern heresy opposed to "the old idea of **Great Poetry**."

[2] *Cf.* the tragic end of John Davidson.

[3] *Cf.* "Autobiographies, etc.," pp. 160-62 and also 79, 82, 107 and 141.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 204.

"I beg you to observe that in some people the spirit of mystification is not the result of labour or combination, but rather of a fortuitous inspiration which would partake, were it not for the strength of the feeling, of the *mood called hysterical* by the physician and satanic by those who think a little more profoundly than the physician; the mood which thrusts us unresisting to a multitude of dangerous and inconvenient acts." Yeats quotes Samuel Palmer's remark that "Excess is the vivifying spirit of the finest art, and we must always seek to make excess more abundantly excessive" ("Ideas of Good and Evil," p. 225). His own observation is that "Certainly a thirst for unbounded emotion and a wild melancholy are troublesome things in the world, and do not make its life more easy or orderly, but it may be the arts are founded on the life beyond the world, and that they must cry in the ears of our penury until the world has been consumed and become a vision" (*ibid*). He then adds that "literature dwindles to a mere chronicle of circumstance or passionless phantasies and passionless meditations, unless it is constantly flooded with the passions and beliefs of ancient times" and he considers the best source of such fountains of passions and beliefs for European literature has always been pre-eminently the Celtic (along with the Slavonic, Finnish, Scandinavian), for, "it has again and again brought the 'vivifying spirit' of excess into the arts of Europe" and quotes Renan in support.

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[1] Psycho-analytical criticism of literature and literary men holds that "the emotions that literature deals with bear a close analogy to symptoms in the neuroses............Some authors like Rousseau in his *Confessions* or Strindberg in his *Confessions of a Fool* give us detailed accounts of their neuroses......Freud divides the neuroses into (1) actual neuroses and (2) psycho-neuroses and the latter are hysteria, compulsion neurosis, and mixed cases, especially anxiety hysteria."—Albert Mordell.

This essay of Yeats on "The Celtic Element in Literature" concludes with two important remarks, *viz.*, (1) "'The Celtic movement,' as I understand it, is principally the opening of this fountain" which is "a new intoxication for the imagination of the world" and (2) "The reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century has mingled with the reaction against the materialism of the nineteenth century, and the symbolical movement, which has come to perfection in Gemany in Wagner, in England in the Pre-Raphaelites, and in France in Villiers de L'Isle Adam, and Mallarmé, and Maeterlinck, and has stirred the imagination of Ibsen and D'Annunzio, is certainly the only movement that is saying new things." He concludes with the prophecy that the arts having through their brooding intensity grown religious must utter themselves through legends and the Irish legends in particular possessing a new beauty "may well give the opening century its most memorable symbols" ("Ideas of Good and Evil," p. 229; 1897).

Apropos of Baudelaire's hysterical mood, we note how Yeats too describes at some length his own exceptional and queer experience under the influence of his friend Michael Robartes, eager to initiate him into the *Order of the Alchemical Rose*, when with that friend Yeats drove towards the Temple of the sect close to the lonely sea. He says that his mind then became emptied of familiar thoughts and experiences, as if "plucked out of the definite world and cast naked upon a shoreless sea." * * * "It was indeed," he continues, "days before this feeling passed perfectly away, and even now, when I have sought refuge in the only definite faith, I feel a great tolerance for those people with incoherent personalities, who gather in the chapels and meeting-places of certain obscure sects, because I also have felt fixed habits and principles dissolving before a power, which was *hysteria*[1] *passio* or sheer madness, if you will, but was so powerful in its melancholy exultation that I tremble lest it wake again and drive me from my new-found peace." ("Rosa Alchemica," Part III, published in 1897.)

The new-found peace is what came to him from his conversion[2] from what he calls "an error" (*viz.*, the doctrines of the Alchemical Rose), yet the way in which Yeats pleads for Owen Aherne,—who sticks to the last to that Order—as one "whose inner life had soaked up the outer life," and who "having discovered the law of his being" and "having seen the whole could not believe that a part (*i.e.*, the Catholic creed of absolute obedience to Christ born of a burning sense of sin and that of a need for repentance) is the whole," realized that salvation through Christ's atonement [1] was not for him, even though he felt that his ideas regarding the new law of the Holy Spirit contained extreme danger, nay, " boundless wickedness,"—perplexes us not a little.

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[1] Freud's "Collected Papers," Vol. I, Chapters II, IV-XI (written 1893-1898) contain an elaborate treatment of this important psychical phenomenon but I cannot quote him in full and have to rest content with this reference.

[2] *Cf.* the conversion by St. Patrick of such ancient Gaelic heroes as Ossian, Caoilta, Conchobor and Cuchulainn.

Oppenheim defines hysteria as "an intensified expression of emotion and according to Strümpell in all cases of hysteria the disturbance can be traced to the psycho-physical sphere. The "incoherent personalities" of Yeats may be some form of the "splitting of consciousness" due to this kind of emotional disturbance amounting to neuro-psychosis of hysterics. The origin of such a phenomenon may be found in sexual life (taking the word sexual in its comprehensive psycho-analytical sense).

Psycho-analysts look upon Byron as one of the best instances of "hysteria in literature" and his intensely lyrical love pieces are explained as embodiments of his *repressed* love for Mary Chaworth who "made a neurotic out of him."

This Aherne[2] is typical of the choice spirits of the Celtic Movement in Ireland who were rebels against the existing order and ardent seekers after a new truth, a new light for which they were painfullly groping. Aherne's was, we read in " The Tables of the Law," the insatiable desire to teach his pupils the spirit of the Renaissance—the spirit of Freedom for the heart, the imagination, the soul—and he earnestly wanted to send out to the sleeping world his " saints, lovers, rebels and prophets " as preachers of the new law of the Holy Spirit (as distinguished from that of the Father and the Son) and to influence all men. " Swift passed his life in joking and railing " against the order of things in Ireland and " Curran telling stories and quoting Greek, *in simpler days*, before men's minds, subtilized and complicated by the romantic movement in art and literature, began to tremble on the verge of some unimagined revelation." Yeats (exactly like his Aherne and Robartes) stood on this verge. His sympathies were with the new law. His allegiance was to the new order. He was a prophet-poet and a rebel-lover of the coming age of the Holy Spirit even though a renegade from the Order of the Alchemical Rose in his last stage of development. It is as a dreamer of these dreams that he confronts other dreams (like Robartes and Aherne) at the cross-ways.

We all know that Baudelaire was acclaimed as the progenitor of modern symbolism. It is significant that Baudelaire startled the literary world of France by his translation in 1856 of Edgar Poe's tales of mystery and imagination.

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[1] Yeats's latest published poems " The Tower " (1928) contains a poem called " Two Songs from a Play " on this subject.

[2] Yeats refers to him in his " Tower " which contains " Owen Aherne and His Dancers."

Then came in 1857 his notorious "Flowers of Evil" with Gautier's dedication prefixed to the edition of 1868. There are in it exquisitely beautiful passages of high poetic idealism interspersed with those full of depressing sadness.[1] In the characteristic piece on Death he burns with a passionate longing

> "To plunge to the gulf's bottom, heaven, hell what reck we,
> To the bottom of the unknown to find the new."

Baudelaire revived a fresh interest in mediæval mysticism.
It seems that Yeats was indebted for his Renaissance ideal of spritual freedom to such Christian mystics as Joachim of Floris, in Calabria (supposed to have died in 1202 A.D.), whose commentary on the Apocalypse is full of prophetic denunciations of the rigid and conventional ecclesiasticism of the Western Church. Joachim held that the Kingdom of the Father was over (before his day), that of the Son was already in the state of fast ebbing away, but that of the Spirit about to dawn (roughly by the year 1260) and that this last was to be a complete triumph of the spirit over mere rules, codes, and the letter of the law.

This indebtedness, if admitted, may in part account for Yeats's insistence on the triumph of the spirit, of the mind, of the heart, of feeling and the like. I shall just refer to such poems as "The Wisdom of the King," "Old Man of the Twilight," "Two Songs of a Fool," "Upon a Dying Lady" (containing a vigorous onslaught on priest's Mass, Penance, and Puritanical austerity which militate against the idea of a joyous state after death), and to the prose piece (in the "Secret Rose," 1897) called "Outcast" on the strife and struggle between the free and joyous gleeman and the rigid monks who crucify him. The clash and conflict between freedom and the rigidity of the orthodox church is an old story. It is Theophile Gautier, again, who in his remarkable story of the Roman courtesan Arria Marcella (1852) vigorously presents the pagan (renaissance) artist's (or rather art-for-art's-sake propagandist's) favourite idea of Christianity, as represented by the Church, being ever hostile to *love and beauty* which constitute the very soul of art and embody the Pagan's religion. The magic charm of Marcella's love in which Octavius, the lover, is absorbed becomes abruptly broken in Gautier's artistic story by the reproachful eyes of a Christian visitor much in the style of what happens to Lycius and his beloved *Lamia* in that supreme **one** warm and flushed moment of mutual happiness assailed and dashed by the hard and ruthless glances of the unlovely eyes of the unbidden guest Apollonius, the philosopher-mentor of the Corinthian youth. We read in Keats's poem—

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[1] *Cf.* Baudelaire's "Sadness of the Moon," "The Balcony," "The Sick Muse," "The Evil Monk," "The Irreparable," "The Flask" and "Reversibility."

> "The bald-head philosopher
> Had fixed his eyes, without a twinkle or stir
> Full on the alarmed beauty of the bride"—

till "all was blight" ; for the Sophist's eye

> "Like a sharp spear, went through her utterly
> And with a frightful scream she vanished
> And Lycius' arms were empty of delight."

Similarly the Christian in Gautier by an exorcism forces Marcella to give up Octavius who at once swoons.

In both the stories love is balked by the merciless interference of so-called morality and religion. Keats's sympathies are with the lovers. In all such aesthetic treatment of such a theme the underlying principle is the artist's intense longing to preserve or restore the beauty of the now-vanished pagan world which is a perennial source of romantic emotion or rather passion for love and beauty. The artist's beauty-way of viewing the universe is thus set over against the philosopher's (or theologian's) utility-way, the highest utility in the comprehensive sense of the word being, as Plato holds, *Goodness*. Yeats too like Swinburne follows somewhat his master Shelley in his condemnation of the rigidly orthodox

Church. *Queen Mab, Revolt of Islam,* and even *Prometheus Unbound* are full of attacks on the Church even though the last piece and Shelley's *Hella's* as some of his prose essays on Christianity, show how Shelley simply adores the Christ-ideal in a passionate manner.

The simple fact is that the Church has, roughly speaking from the 2nd century A.D. onwards, played the rôle of a persecutor of all rational and scientific thinking and all freedom movements and in its Puritanical blindness has stood against the **arts** except when painting or sculpture (as in Italy) could be made a hand-maiden of religion. This Cinderella status of art breeds revolt in aestheticians. Besides, *the Inquisition's* record by itself suffices to make the Church stand self-condemned. Galileo, Copernicus, Bruno and, in modern days, Darwin, Huxley, Marx and Freud—all such original thinkers and investigators of truth have, alas, been anathema to the Church to the infinite disgrace of that institution. Even Dante flings his invective against the avaricious clergy and the Pope who "wist not of the Fisherman nor Paul" (Paradise, Canto XVIII) and makes St. Peter Damian (who died in 1702) of Ravenna censure pastors and prelates for their life of luxury, calling them "burly modern shepherds," just as Milton breaks out passionately in his *Lycidas* against

> "Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
> Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!"

Dante's *Beatrice* is driven into a digression (in Paradise, Canto XXIX) of a somewhat violent attack on theologians and religious preachers who provoke God's anger by "forcing the Book of God (in the Gospel) to yield to man's authority" and his St. Peter does not spare the covetousness of his successors in the Apostolic see.

(*To be continued*)

JAYGOPAL. BANERJEE.

NATURE'S TOILET

Thou changest thy robes for the morning
  To crimson bespangled with gold ;
A veil of soft saffron adorning
  Thy shoulders of classical mould !
Like Sita a *Sāri* of radiance dost wear
  With fluttering, shimmering end,
When trembling breath of the noonday doth dare
  A sigh for thy splendour to spend !
In the evening, behold, with a pale-purple gown,
  And necklets of amber, and armlets of jade,
Thy riotous tresses confined 'neath a crown
  Of gold set with jewels that in heaven was made !

For the night the richest of unguent adorneth
  Thy starry eyes lovingly peeping ;—
Stiff robes and all grandeur she scorneth !
  Thy queenly attire of gracefulness keeping !—
And the buckle of sash round thy jet flowing hair
  Is the moon ; and the moonlight the folds of thy dress;
Diamonds they hang round thy ankles so fair,
  Soft clouds lie in ambush thy feet to caress !
Beloved ! Why takest thou pains without number
  To blossom in beauty each beautiful day?
'Tis only with longing my heart to encumber
  And teach me Love's secret in Love's silent play :
Thus ravish my mind with a rapture divine
  To teach it true life is to live life for thee ;
And reflect in my soul thy Beauty benign
  To beautify Love, Knowledge and Action in me !

CYRIL MODAK

A PECULARITY IN THE IMAGERY IN DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S POEMS[1]

Introduction.

I have noticed a peculiarity of imagery in Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's poems which I have not met with in the works of any other poet. This can be best explained by quoting a few illustrations.

The following is the translation of a stanza of one of Tagore's poems.

> " Break, break, oh break the prison house,
> Strike at it hard yet harder,
> How sweet the bird sings,
> How abundantly pour forth the rays of the sun to-day."

In this passage the words " Break, break, break " in the first line sound like the beat of a drum and convey the suggestion of a rhythm. The passage "How sweet the bird sings " has the association of a song, while the pouring forth of the sun's rays suggests the idea of a movement. Thus in the above lines we have practically three separate definite imageries occurring in a given order—a rhythm followed by a song and ending up with a movement. This structural peculiarity is noticeable throughout a great part of Dr. Tagore's writings.

As illustrations I may quote below the following passages of Gitanjali which have been translated by the poet himself.

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[1] Read before the All-India Science Congress at Bombay. Portions of this article have been very kindly written for me by Birendrakumar Basu, Esq., I.C.S., and Dr. N. N. Sengupta, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, University College, Calcutta. Babu Kumudkanta Sen, Sub-judge, has also helped me much at the time of writing this article. Colonel Owen Berkeley Hill, I.M.S., has kindly thoroughly revised the article. Mr. Anilkumar Basu, M.A., Professor, Uttarpara College, has published a Bengali translation of this article in the Agrahayan issue, 1334, B.S. of the well-known Bengali monthly, Manasi-O-Marma-vani. I am very much thankful to these gentlemen for the above-mentioned kind helps in connexion with this article.

"Ah the light dances my darling at the centre of my life,
The light strikes my darling the chords of my life,
The sky opens, the wind runs wild, laughter passes over the earth."

Again

"Keeping steps with that restless rapid music,
Seasons come dancing and pass away."

Another

"As we pause and pause again in our talk,
The cuckoo will cry out from the tree,
And on the face of the sky, clouds will roll upon each other and float away."

Numerous examples of this triplicate imagery some translated into English and some in original Bengalee without any translation have been collected in the appendix to this paper.

The dream consciousness in the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore.

The poet told me on one occasion that his poems were the work of his unconscious mind, and that whenever there was any play of his conscious mind at the time of writing, he was not at his best. For the origin of the structural peculiarity in Rabindranath's poems we should not look into his conscious plane of mind, but into a more submerged plane. Dr. Freud has shown that poetry arises more or less from the same plane of consciousness which gives rise to dreams. I think that the students of poetical literature, will find greater expression of the dream consciousness in Rabindranath's poems, than in those of most other poets.

It will be shown later on that in some cases there has been an inversion of the sequence of the triplicate imagery, that is to say, the imagery of movement instead of occurring last, as usual, has occurred first, and with this inversion, the flow of the idea symbolised by the imagery has been in the opposite direction. This presents a curious analogy with the phenomena of dream consciousness. As far as the writer is aware, this kind of inversion of the sequence of any imagery, is not noticed in the writings of any other poet. This will justify the supposition that the imagery is coming out from the dream-consciousness of the poet, that is to say from the pre-conscious region of his mind.

Now if we take the triplicate imagery used by Rabindranath to be of the nature of a symbol, as occurs in the manifest contents of a dream, we have to show that this symbol is a representative of a more essential and probably abstract and complex idea present in the poet's mind, like the latent content of a dream, with which, this has something in common, and is connected by some chain of association, whether external or internal, probably both ; and that this symbol, both onto-genetically and phylo-genetically has some characters of a primitive method of representation of the idea present in the poet's mind. The symbol has come automatically and unconsciously to the poet, who himself is not probably fully conscious of what the symbol actually represents.

Poet's knowledge about the meaning of the symbol.

I shall take the last point first. After writing out a paper on this subject roughly, I went to see the poet. I asked the poet whether he has noticed the fact, that a peculiar triplicate imagery frequently occurs in his poems, and whether he can give reasons for the same.

The poet replied that since so many illustrations of the triplicate imageries had been brought to his notice by the writer, he could not deny the existence of the same in his poems. As for the reason of it he stated that every one develops certain method of expression, and he has developed this method of expression. However, after reading my paper he accepted my explanation, but remarked that when a symbol comes out of the unconscious more than one meaning may be possible, *Tagore's view of idealism.*

It may be interesting here to relate how I was originally led to collect the passages about which I went to see the poet.

Several years ago I went to call on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at his residence at Jorasanko in Calcutta and met him in his study, which in its simple and artistic decoration was worthy of its illustrious occupant. My attention was first attracted by a very simple picture hung up in a conspicuous place in the room. It was the poet's own portrait. The peculiarity about this was that it was a pencil sketch drawn in outline only and with as many straight lines as possible. The picture had probably been drawn by an admirer of the poet and the extraordinary manner of its execution had induced the poet to hang it in his study.

The peculiarity in the picture gave me a hint to collect passages from the writings of the poet in which there was some imagery about lines. The collection of these passages led to my discovery of the peculiarity in the imagery, which, so far as my knowledge goes, has been unnoticed up to this time, even by the most critical reader of the poet.

I can recall something about the conversation I had with the poet on the occasion. I remember that our conversation first turned upon the poet's well-known allegorical drama named "Immovable Structure" (*Achalayatan*) in which the poet has tried to show, amongst other things, how in Hindu society, time and energy are often wasted over meaningless formulæ of worship. He gives the instance, by mentioning a Mantra or of a formula of worship in the words,—" Thoto Thoto Thotoya," etc., in the book.

I asked the poet why he had composed a Mantra in his book which contains so much repetition of the meaningless word " Thoto." The poet told me that the Mantra had been taken bodily from the Buddhistic Scriptures and was not his own composition. I brought it to the notice of the poet that I had come across a collection of words similar to " Thoto " in the beginning of that mysterious document in the story named "Guptadhan" (Hidden Treasure) written by him. So in accordance with the dynamic psychology of Freud, it may be inferred that there is some association of ideas in connection with those words which has some special significance with the poet.

The poet said this might be true. The word "Thoto" is associated with the word "Thata" which means bank of a river or sea, and thus conveys the idea of limit or impediment. He told me frankly that he could never bring himself to like anything which did not transcend the finite and the limited, and pass into the infinite and the unlimited

This led me to ask the poet if he thought that spiritual development was altogether impossible from the worship of images. The poet's answer was that he did not altogether think so, and gave the instance of Siv Narayan Paramhansa whom he knew personally, and who was a worshipper of the Sun, and reached a very high degree of spiritual advancement through such worship. He said that to be in communion with God, two elements were indispensable. The first was idealism and the second was to have some sort of personal relations with Him. In the worship of images, the first is often sacrificed for the sake of this second element.

The Poet's philosophy of the Infinite.

The conversation which I had with the poet showed me a possible significance of the peculiar imagery to which reference has been made. The poet never loses sight of the Infinite in the finite, the Unlimited in the limited. This runs through almost all his writings. For instance, in his famous novel called "Gora" the poet makes "Gora," the hero of the novel, speak thus :—

> "Unless there be the finite, the Infinite cannot express itself. It is through the finite that the Infinite manifests itself."

Again in another passage the poet sings—

> "Within the finite, oh Thou Infinite, Thou playest Thy own tune.
> Hence, so rapturously sweet is Thy manifestation in me."

The artist, like an individual dreamer, comprises a vast material of life's experiences into something like a dream-symbol. In both cases, the central emotional element in the life of the individual concerned lies contained, in this symbol. I shall proceed to show that this has been the case, regarding the triplicate imagery of Rabindranath.

The Infinite in music.

The poet has found in music the manifestation of the Infinite through the finite. The passage last quoted is an illustration of the above. It has also been illustrated in his masterpiece, "Chitrangada:"

> "As in a song, in a momentary rhythm, there is, as if, a mystical echo from the Eternal."

There is a parallel idea in another of his songs:

> "The mind cannot approach Him. But music soars higher and kisses His Throne."

This is the poet's faith in music which brings him such a beatific vision as we see in the following:—

> "Oh how perfect is Thy music my master.
> It makes me listen in silent amazement.
> The light of Thy music illumines the world,
> The music of Thy notes flows through the heavens.
> It rushes madly breaking through the rocks
> Like unto the sacred river eager to mingle in the ocean."

The last two lines in this song deserve reflection. Music is likened to a stream which rushes through stony obstacles, and carries everything before its impetuous force. Music is not to Rabindranath a lifeless sound, but a living and a moving force, whose ultimate goal is in the Infinite. It shows how in the mind of the poet, the conception of music is associated with the conception of movement along a path.

Movement as a symbol of the Infinite.

There is a poem of Rabindranath called "Balaka"—which literally means, a flock of white cranes flying in a line. The piece is important, as it contains an exposition of the philosophical doctrine of the poet, and gives the title to a collection of poems.

The story of the poem, which is allegorical, is that on the margin of a river there was a large number of cranes. After some time, they began to flap their wings and fly in the air. Hearing the flap of their wings and seeing them fly, it seemed to the poet, as if all nature became fired with a desire to have wings. The hills said that they would also fly and become black clouds in the sky. The seeds within the earth said they wished to have wings that they might come out and fly. With the mind's eye the poet dreamed that all earthly things were flying up, and that there is perpetual progress in this world, which is an outward manifestation of the effort of the finite for the realisation of the Infinite.

Rhythm and the Infinite.

There is yet another symbol in his poems which may be regarded as the symbol of rhythm. The imagery of rhythm in the mind of such a master-musician as Rabindranath, may perhaps be looked upon as the natural antecedent of the imagery of songs. But I am inclined to think that there is more in it, than this.

Rabindranath is the poet of universal love. In analysing the true character of human love in one of his works called the "Cupid's Decision" he says—

> "In our mundane affairs, some chapters of life are usually enacted before history begins its record. The first vibration, the first

agitation, and the first flash of lightning, are incapable of being recorded."

The excerpt quoted above illustrates Rabindranath's conception of worldly love. In the passages of his poetry, in which he deals with universal love, which in itself is eternal, this symbol of rhythm finds expression in a concrete manner :

> " In this physical body of mine that life wave which undulates day and night, through every vein and nerve, that very life is running after the universal to get predominance over it, that very life is dancing in this world in inimitable rhythm, measure and harmony."

As in the other two imageries, *viz.*, song and movement, here also Rabindranath, in several of his passages, has tried to describe the play of Infinite in the finite, which is the key-note of his philosophy.

Take for example the poem,—

> " My thoughts are quickened by this rhythm of unseen feet round which the anklets of light are shaken.
>
> They echo in the pulse of my heart, and through my blood surges the psalm of the ancient sea."

Or this—

> " When Thou and I come face to face
> All veils drop,
> And the sea of the universe ripples in sympathy."

Or this—

> " In the cadences of making and breaking
> Your love trips along
> From land to land
> From age to age."

In this wise, we meet with three important classes of imageries, *i.e.*, (1) a rhythm, (2) a song, (3) a movement in a line. Psychologically speaking they may be described as imageries of the auditory, visual and kinaesthetic types. The image types in several cases are not pure but belongs to the compound type. In all these cases, the imageries are not of the dead or inert type, but they seem always instinct with life and energy. We may deal with this last point later on.

Sequence of the three imageries.

In the triplicate imagery, the imagery of rhythm comes first, the imagery of song follows next and the imagery of movement comes last. The arrangement is not accidental, but there seems to be a deep meaning in it.

In a recent dramatic sketch "The Procession of the Car" Rabindranath has introduced the triplicate imagery in prose and naturally the symbolical significance of the imagery is not so much disguised here as in his poetry. The "*Car*" is of course the car of human progress and it has stuck. The King, the Priest, the Soldier have all failed to move it while the populace breaks into the ring and drags it away. The Poet then appears, and the following conversation follows :—

The Poet has just remarked that the populace will shortly come to grief and will have to send for the Poet.

Priest.—Really and by what force will you drive the car?

Poet.—Not by physical force, that is certain. We are followers of Rhyme. We know that if you overburden on one side, the rhythm is lost. We know that the secret of steering the Ship of Power is to put Beauty at its helm. You pin your faith on the hard, hard law or hard steel,—but that only shows you to be timid, weak, lifeless.

Soldier.—While you are lecturing, Poet, look, there is fire yonder.

Poet.—How often has not fire broken out from age to age,—but it has never destroyed what is worth saving.

Soldier.—And so—?

Poet.—I will sing "Fear not."

Soldier.—What do you expect to achieve by doing that?

Poet.—Those who draw the car will have rhythm to regulate their steps. It is pulling in discord that is dangerous.

Soldier.—And we?

Priest.—And I?

Poet.—It is not necessary that you must do something in a hurry. Try and make yourselves new from within, and afterwards, wait for the call.

In the above extract, the triplicate imagery occurs in the fixed order noticed in the poems. Here Rhythm represents the Beautiful at the helm of the universe. Song represents His message to the universe. The movement is the result of this message, *viz.*, the progress of the world towards the ideal.

The formula of Godhead in the Upanishads is "Santam, Sivam, Adwaitam," the Being who is Harmony, who is Beneficence, who is One without a second. Rabindranath has accepted this formula. In the 37th poem of the volume known as "Balaka" there occurs the line,—"Santi, *i.e.*, Harmony is true, Siva, *i.e.*, Beneficence is true, that Eternal One is true."

Now the triplicate imagery of rhythm, song, and movement has resemblance with the formula of the Godhead of Santam, Sivam and Adwaitam quoted above.

Rhythm is a very natural figure for representing Santam or the Principle of Harmony.

The figure that all movements are proceeding towards the goal situated at the Infinity is a very natural way of representing the Eternal One without a second.

Sivam or the Principle of Bliss is a somewhat complex idea. While on the other hand the music as described by Rabindranath is also a complex idea. Rabindranath at some places has spoken of "light of music." In fact, in some triplicate imagery, Rabindranath has put the idea of light in place of the idea of song (*vide* the songs Nos. 8, 11 and 12 in the appendix). Sometimes the idea of music or the idea of rhythm has been replaced in the triplicate imagery by the idea of ecstasy or by the idea of a kind of mystic feeling (*vide* the songs Nos. 10 and 13 in the appendix). Thus the triplicate imagery may be taken as a sort of paraphrase of the triplicate formula of the Godhead mentioned in the Upanishad.

But we have shown an extract from the book "Car Procession" of Rabindranath that the triplicate imagery may be taken to mean the Godhead, His message to the Universe and the response of the Universe to His message.

If these two different views are condensed into one, it will mean the communion of the Divine and the Universe or in other words the manifestation of the Infinite through the finite.

The spiritual synthesis of Rabindranath.

In the eternal search for the Infinite, in the maze of paths, each leading by its own way to the vision of truth, each one must choose his own path and Rabindranath has chosen his.

As he has expressly stated in some of his poems, his path is not through renunciation but through joyful acceptance. He joyfully accepts the world, with all its light and shadows, its pleasures and its sorrows, its separations and its reconciliations, its beauties as well as its terrors. So much beauty, so much joy, he says again and again could not have prevailed in the world if God wanted us to reject them. No, says he, I renounce nothing. The world is mine to love and to enjoy and is not the world God's too? And is not God in the universe and can the Creator be contemplated apart from his creation? But the Creator and creation would be meaningless without my "I" too, for here He is, in the heart of my heart, in the soul of my soul. I am not apart from creation, yet I have the creation as the object of my experience and I and the creation form one whole, which together make up the totality, the *One* without a second and that is God. So the limit and the limitless, the *personal* and the *universal* have to meet and as a matter of fact they do meet every moment of our daily life and God is in it, of it, the essence of it. Rabindranath has expressed it,—"As speech is filled with thought, so every object with form is replete with that which is formless."

Inversion of sequence.

In the poet's description of the awesome in nature in which Divine displeasure is made manifest, the triplicate imageries referred to above can be observed, but in a different order. This is what we should expect. For the poet is here describing a state of things which is opposite of communion with Divinity where the imagery occurs in the proper order.

As an illustration of this the following verses may be quoted.

(1)

" Red clouds quiver with lightning. Thunder resounds over yonder forest. Who is the mad man, who is sending the peals of laughter again and again, in the midst of these? "

(2)

" Oh my Terrible,
Thy forgiveness comes through the flaming spire of roaring thunder in the setting sun, in that terrible cataclysm when blood will rain and the worlds collide in sudden and terrible impact."

(3)

There is a poem called " The Tryst " in which there is a similar picture of the terrible aspect of nature.

For example,

" Suddenly the tempest came,
The lightning flashed
In its open huge jaws,
The woman trembled with fear,
The wind blew, as if, destruction was near,
In the sky, thunder laughed its loud and hideous laugh of mockery."

In the above three pieces, the imagery of movement is coming first. This may be contrasted with what has been noticed in the previous illustrations, where the imagery of movement comes last, after the imageries of rhythm and song. But in these verses there has been an inversion of the sequence. This sort of inversion has been found by psychologists to be a curious phenomenon in dream consciousness.

For example, the following occurs in Freud's book on Dreams :—

" There seems no ' Not ' in dreams. Opposition between two ideas, the relation of conversion is represented in dreams in a very remarkable way. It is expressed by the reversal of another part of the dream content, just as if by way of appendix." (*Vide* On Dreams by Professor Freud translated by M. D. Eder.)

Dr. Ernest Jones says :—(In dreams) "Cases of opposition which fall into the category of the converse or reverse may be indicated by the following curious way : Two parts of the already formed dream that are connected with the dream thoughts in question are inverted." (*Vide* Papers on Psycho-analysis by Ernest Jones.)

It may be interesting to give a short account of the poem " The Tryst " in order to see why Tagore introduced a terrible scene like the one quoted in his poem.

The story related in the poem is that of a Hermit named Upagupta who was resting on the road in darkness. A dancing girl named *Basava Datta,* who was reported to be the prettiest damsel of the city, was going to meet her lover at the Tryst. As *Basava Datta* struck against the Hermit in the darkness, she lighted her lamp. The uncommon beauty of the young ascetic dazzled her eyes and she invited him to her home in a passionate manner.

Then suddenly comes the cataclysm.

Thus in the poem, as the woman was about to treat with contempt the high spirituality of the ascetic, the thunder voice of the Divine was heard. It is in this way that His Being is manifested in the terrible to bring the gospel of the new life through sorrow and suffering.

This is what happened to the woman of the poem.

An epidemic broke out in the city and she caught the terrible disease. She lay in the outskirts of the city deserted by all. But the Hermit came, took her in his arms and gave her succour; and the poem ends :—

> " The buds were falling fast,
> The cuckoo was singing over-head,
> The moonlight was intoxicating,
> ' Who are you, kind Sir,' cried the poor woman
> ' The time has come to-night,' replied the Hermit,
> ' I have come, Basava Datta.' "

Here the poet has again introduced a triplicate imagery, in which the dropping of blossoms indicates rhythm, the singing of the cuckoo indicates song, and the shining of the full moon, movement. Here the imagery is not inverted, for the sight of the ascetic evokes a noble and spiritual feeling in the heart of the fallen woman and not a base feeling as before.

As Dr. Freud and Ernest Jones have pointed out that in the same dream the dream content of the early part of the dream may be reversed towards the end of the dream to express an opposite idea, the same phenomenon has occurred in this poem through the inversion of the imagery.

How the symbol formed.

Charles Bandouin in his book named " Psycho-Analysis and Aesthetics," has attempted to study the works of the French poet Emile Verhaeren from a psycho-analytical point of view.

He quotes a line from the poet.

> L' Eternelle, qui est la vie

meaning

> The Eternal, who is life,

The author remarks :—

" The word "vie" seems at this date to be a magic syllable for Verhaeren. He is intoxicated by it; positively haunted. It is not improbable that this is why the syllable *vi* recurs with such strange insistence in the titles of the poems of this period :

> Villages illusoires
> Villes tentaculaires,
> Visages de la *vie*
> Vignes de ma muraille.

Now as I have shown before it is analogous to this that the triplicate imagery of Rabindranath has developed from the formula of the Godhead in Upanishad, *viz.*, " Santam, Sivam, Adwaitam," and Rabindranath appears to be similarly haunted with the triplicate imagery.

The author points out that there was previously loss of religious faith on the part of Verhaeren, which was followed by a temporary loss of harmony. But Verhaeren again became converted to religious faith, through which he regained balance and this comprised a drama closely paralleled by the experiences of a Tolstoy.

The author proceeds on to say : " The psychological essential of conversion may be summarised as follows. One who has been the victim of a conflict, recovers balance through a sudden, or comparatively sudden, setting free of the forces that have been prisoned in the sub-conscious, and through the change of direction which the psychic energy thus undergoes. The outcome is a new conception of life, and perhaps a new conception of the universe."

Here it appears to me that the author of the book, Charles Bandouin, is trying to express in psychological terms, some of the aspects of mystic consciousness, so ably dealt with by the great psychologist William James.

It has been stated by Kolnay (in Psycho-Analyse and Social-Vissenschaft), " The dream plays no organic positive part in the life of the individual, its function consisting largely in a removal and diversion of psychic inhibitions." This, in my humble opinion cannot be true of truly artistic dreams. Even regarding the ordinary dream, a paper read by Maeder before the Psycho-analytic Association, in Munich 1913, shows that the above view is not wholly correct, regarding ordinary dreams also.

Poul Bjirre of Sweden in an article on the subject "The way to and from Freud" published in the Psycho-analytic review for January 1925, says :—

"It is not in the life sphere whose intellectual characteristics reach their climax in 'purpose' that dreams like all other processes of an artistic nature, have their deepest roots. The significance of these manifestations of life, on the contrary, lies largely in the fact that they break through and dissolve the rigid forms into which over-insistence on usefulness and purpose has moulded social life and thus make us receptive of influences from deeper sources of life. The forces of the unconscious, therefore, are not individual but universal, a fact which has been overlooked in psycho-analytic literature and has given rise to untold confusion. The psycho-synthetic tendency to self-healing is a universal force which manifests itself in us just as gravity does, in the former case as a living renewing force, in the latter as a dead, mechanical force." Here also the writer is trying to put forth in psychological terms what has been described as mystical consciousness by William James. Now according to William James, though the mystical experience is a very real thing to the individual concerned, and leads to his spiritual and psychic development, yet the subject of it says that it defies expression, that no expression of its contents can be given in words.

So Rabindranath has tried to describe by way of symbol the manifestation of God in the Universe which is a mystical experience with him. Rabindranath finds this idea symbolized in a pre-eminent degree in song, the tune as apart from the words. While the words are limited and particular, the tune, it seems to him, goes beyond and vividly brings home the eternal character of experience and that is why he has said again and again, he looks upon song as the type of mystic experience, a sudden breaking of the bonds, a glimpse of the eternal in everyday life. The psychologists have laid stress on the factor regarding symbol-formation which may be described as the pleasure-pain principle. The mind notices what affects it most, so that what is most pleasurable or most painful is utilised in symbol-formation. Hence, in case of Rabindranath, the master musician known throughout the world as the creator of an altogether new style in music, the song is the thing which most interests him and is most pleasurable to him. Rhythm representing the musical instruments and movement representing the dance are objects which are intimately associated with song. Hence the selection of the triplicate imagery as symbol has been very natural with Rabindranath.

Freud, in one of his books (Die Traumdeutung) says :—

"What to-day is symbolically connected was probably in primaeval times united in conceptual and linguistic identity. The symbolic relationship seems to be the remains and sign of an identity which once existed."

In the Vedic Hymns, the ancient forefathers of the Hindus observed with awe and reverence the phenomena of nature like tempests, lightning, thunder, rain, the first dawning of light in the morning, etc., and felt the manifestation of the Divine in these phenomena, like Rabindranath. Thus the triplicate imagery may be said to be connected ontogenetically and phylogenetically with the primitive worship of the Vedic age. It is significant that there are reverential references to Vedic hymns in several places in the poet's writings.

Mysticism and the imagery.

Mysticism in all ages and climes is said to possess certain constant characteristics. The mystic idea of the divine principle, the play of emotions that fill the life of the devotee, and the unique stream of perceptions that mark the awakening of the blessed life, possess a deepseated resemblance in the diverse orders of mysticism. It is a fascinating study to pursue the clue of these experiences. No one who has interested himself in the study of mysticism can fail to be struck by the fact that certain sensory phenomena occur with a remarkable constancy in the life of all who seek an immediate contact with reality. In the famous Memorial of Pascal we find

> " depuis environ dix henres et demi du soir
> jusqu'à environ minuit et demie
> Feu" [1]

Rolle likewise speaks of an experience in which he felt that his heart "waxed warm, and truly not imagining by, but as it were with a sensible fire, burned." [2] There are similar references to light and sound in the life-history of many a traveller of the mystic path. Swetashvatara Upanishat gives us a list of a rich variety of experiences that shows the earnest seeker his way to the divine :

नीहार धूमार्कानलानिलानां खद्यात विद्युत्स्फटिकशशिनाम् ।
एतानि रूपाणि पुरःसराणि ब्रह्मण्यभि कराणि योगे ॥

Mystics thus agree not merely in their attitude to life, not merely in the ideology of their religious experiences but also in the details of the concrete, sensuous imagery that mark the milestones of the mystic way.

Poets in a like manner live their life of imagery. Only in their case, the images are enlivened into concrete realities of the poet's world through the warmth of emotion and the movement of rhythm. The mystic, on his part, rarely knows what the imagery signifies : he is merely impressed with its imperative objectivity. The mystic, thus, can only give a description of his imaginal life; the poet on the other hand tries to initiate us into the inward meaning of his experience and to knit the images into a complex reality of the world he lives in.

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[1] Underhill, Mysticism, p. 228.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 233.

It is obvious that poets live in a world of vivid images. It is equally obvious that their imaginal capacity manifests certain characteristics out of the ordinary. Thus it has been well said that imagination (image-forming) is the sixth sense of the poet; and he perceives a new world with this new sensibility.

The usual idea is that poets differ from the ordinary human beings in their possession of a keener sensitivity and in the vividness of the images that follow in the train of perceptions. The Eidetic imagery haunts the poetic mind long after the percept has ceased to act. This is probably true: for, all the images that enter into artistic creation show unmistakable characteristics of the memory-afterimage. The difference between the poet and the ordinary persons probably lies in the fact that the former more naturally develops the Eidetic image and the latter the memory image.

But poets often manifest a peculiarity in the development of particular types of imagery. For instance, the smell imagery is but rarely employed by the ordinary individual. Poets of all orders and ranks, however, tend to represent scenes, events and persons in terms of smell. Rabindranath's works are full of examples of the use of smell-imagery. The spring is recalled through the smell-image of mango blossoms: the river and the hill all have their specific smell; and even seasons in their procession bring in the poet's mind an orgy of smell-images. The most remarkable occurrence of smell-images however, is in relation to persons. Individuals are often recalled not in terms of their features or voice but through their body-smells. This at once shows a keen sense of smell, as well as a peculiar development and use of the smell-image.

Another peculiarity often noticed in the imagery of poets is what may be called cross-sense fusion. Rossetti speaks of 'fragrant tunes' and others speak of scented light or of 'peals of colour.' These are undoubtedly compound images. Are they in any way related to the phenomenon of Synaesthesia? It is a matter that awaits investigation.

APPENDIX.

Some Examples of Triplicate Imagery in the Poems of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.

In this verse the symbol of rhythm has been made to manifest itself from the use of onomatopoetic words :—

"Whatever is harsh, whatever is dissonant in me, melts in sweet harmony at the touch of ambrosial music. Like the bird that feels gay when it is on wings, all my admiration, all my worship spread wings towards Thee."

(2)

In the following verse the onomatopoetic words have been used to re-inforce the imagery both of the rhythm and song :—

"Behind the rain clouds spatter and thunder thunders, but still peeps the sun through the scattered cloud and strikes the face."

(3)

In some of the stanzas the imagery of rhythm is enforced by the repetition of a word :—

"He comes now and then
Like unto the flute which pipes its tunes far away,
Methinks I hear the faint echo of His note,
His index sometimes appears in the lines in the clouds.
And in the flowers that bloom,
And sometimes it blows through the heart."

(4)

In some places the three imageries of rhythm, song, and movement, are contained in three successive stanzas of a poem, instead of the different lines of the same stanza, as is very often the case :—

" Like a rain-cloud of July hung low with its burden of unshed showers, let all my mind bend down at Thy door in one salutation to thee.

Let all my songs gather together their diverse strain in a single current and flow to a sea of silence in one salutation to Thee.

Like a flock of homesick cranes, flying night and day back to their mountain nests, let all my life take its voyage to its eternal home in one salutation to Thee."

(5)

" The impatient heavens pour down in torrents to-day.
The swelling river dashes against its banks.
The wind murmurs through the green leaves in the weeds.
The damp air blows all round wafting the music of the rainy day."

(6)

" I wish not to be called from my sleep by the clamorous choir of birds, by the riot of wind at the festival of morning light."

(7)

" The joy that sweeps in with the tempest, shaking and waking all life with laughter, the joy that sits still with its tears on the open red lotus of pain."

(8)

" My life will burst out its bonds in exceeding pain and my empty heart will sob out music like a hollow reed and the stone will melt in tears."

(9)

"The waves have become clamorous, and upon the bank in the shady lane, the yellow leaves flutter and fall. What emptiness do you gaze upon."

(10)

"Thou callest so early but nobody hears Thy call,
My mind moans within itself, but none cares for it,
I wander with a forlorn heart,
I look into the face of every one I meet
But none draws me so closely as Thou dost."

(11)

"The sky is over-cast with clouds and the rain is ceaseless. I know not what this is that stirs in me. I know not its meaning."

"A moment's flash of lightning drags down a deeper gloom on my sight and my heart gropes for the path to where the music of the night calls me."

(12)

"Art thou abroad on this stormy night on thy journey of love, my friend ? The sky groans like one in despair."

"I have no sleep to-night. Ever and again I open my door and look out in the darkness, my friend."

"I can see nothing before me. I wonder where lies thy path."

(13)

"Hearing the flute which makes the wind sigh, my mind wanders far far away, till at last it finds the path, which leaving all climes and countries behind, loses its trace in an unknown land, for which the heart of the poet yearns."

The texts of the passages from Rabindranath Tagore's works, gnoted in the article, in Bengalee.

Page 241.

ভাঙ্গ্ ভাঙ্গ্ ভাঙ্গ্ কারা
আঘাতে আঘাত কর,
(ওরে আজ) কি গান গেয়েছে পাখী
এয়েছে রবির কর।

Page 242.

নাচে আলো নাচে—ও ভাই
আমার প্রাণের কাছে,
বাজে আলো বাজে—ও ভাই
হৃদয় বীণার মাঝে ;
জাগে আকাশ, ছোটে বাতাস,
হাসে সকল ধরা।

সেই আনন্দ চরণ পাতে
ছয় ঋতু যে নৃত্যে মাতে,
প্লাবন ব'হে যায় ধরাতে
বরণ গীতে গন্ধেরে,
ফেলে দেবার ছেড়ে দেবার
মরবারই আনন্দেরে।

সে কথার সাথে রেখে রেখে মিল
থেকে থেকে ডেকে উঠিবে কোকিল,
কানাকানি হয়ে ভেসে যাবে মেঘ আকাশ গায়।

Page 245.

গোরা কহিল—অন্ত না থাকিলে যে প্রকাশই হয় না। অনন্ত আপনাকে প্রকাশ করিবার জন্যই অন্তকে আশ্রয় করেছেন, নইলে তাঁর প্রকাশ কোথায় ?

Page 246.

সীমার মাঝে, অসীম, তুমি বাজাও আপন সুর।
আমার মধ্যে তোমার প্রকাশ তাই এত মধুর ॥

সঙ্গীতে যেমন, ক্ষণিকের তানে,
গুঞ্জরি কাঁদিয়া উঠে অন্তহীন কথা।

মন দিয়া যাঁরে নাগাল না পাই—
গান দিয়ে সেই চরণ ছুঁয়ে যাই।

তুমি কেমন করে গান কর যে গুণী
অবাক হয়ে শুনি, কেবল শুনি!
সুরের আলো ভুবন ফেলে ছেয়ে,
সুরের হাওয়া চলে গগন বেয়ে,
পাষাণ টুটে ব্যাকুল বেগে ধেয়ে
বহিয়া যায় সুরের সুরধুনী।

Page 247.

কিন্তু সংসারে যেখান হইতে ইতিহাস সুরু হয়, তাহার অনেক পরের অধ্যায় হইতে লিখিত হইয়া থাকে; প্রথম স্পন্দন, আন্দোলন ও বিদ্যুৎচমকগুলি প্রকাশের অতীত।

Page 248.

এ আমার শরীরের শিরায় শিরায়
যে প্রাণতরঙ্গমালা রাত্রিদিন ধায়,
সেই প্রাণ ছুটিয়াছে বিশ্ব দিগ্বিজয়ে—
সেই প্রাণ অপরূপ ছন্দে তালে লয়ে
নাচিছে ভুবনে;

ওরে কবি তোরে আজ করেছে উতলা,
ঝঙ্কারমুখরা এই ভুবনমেখলা,
অলক্ষিত চরণের অকারণ অবারণ চলা।

নাড়ীতে নাড়ীতে তোর চঞ্চলের শুনি পদধ্বনি
বক্ষ তোর উঠে রণরণি।
নাহি জানে কেউ
রক্তে তোর নাচে আজি সমুদ্রের ঢেউ।

তোমায় আমায় মিলন হ'লে
সকলি যায় খুলে,—
বিশ্বসাগর ঢেউ খেলায়ে
উঠে তখন দুলে।

সে যে ঐ ভাঙ্গা গড়ার তালে তালে
নেচে যায় দেশে দেশে কালে কালে।

Pages 249. and 250.

কবি। ঠাট্টা নয় পুরুত ঠাকুর। মহাকাল বারে বারেই রথযাত্রায় কবিদের ডেকেছেন। তারা কাজের লোকের ভিড় ঠেলে পৌঁছিতে পারে নি।

পুরোহিত। তারা চালাবে কিসের জোরে?

কবি। গায়ের জোরে নয়ই। আমরা মানি ছন্দ, আমরা জানি একঝোঁকা হলেই তাল কাটে। আমরা জানি সুন্দরকে কর্ণধার করলেই শক্তির তরী সত্যি বশ মানে। তোমরা বিশ্বাস কর কঠোরকে, শাস্ত্রের কঠোর বা অস্ত্রের কঠোর,—সেটা হল ভীরুর বিশ্বাস, দুর্ব্বলের বিশ্বাস, অসাড়ের বিশ্বাস।

সৈনিক। ওহে কবি, তুমি ত উপদেশ দিতে বস্‌লে, ওদিকে যে আগুন লাগল।

কবি। যুগে যুগে কতবার কত আগুন লেগেছে। যা থাকবার তা থাকবেই।

সৈনিক। তুমি কি করবে?

কবি। আমি গান গাব "ভয় নেই"।

সৈনিক। তাতে হবে কি?

কবি। যারা রথ টান্‌বে তারা চল্‌বার তাল পাবে। বেতালা টানটাই ভয়ঙ্কর।

সৈনিক। আমরা কি করব?

পুরোহিত। আমি কি করব?

কবি। তাড়াতাড়ি কিছু করতেই হবে এমন কথা নেই। দেখ, ভাব। ভিতরে ভিতরে নূতন হয়ে ওঠো। তারপরে ডাক পড়বার জন্য তৈরী হয়ে থাক।

Page 250.

শান্তি সত্য, শিব সত্য, সত্য সেই সনাতন এক।

Page 251, 2.

বাক্যেরমধ্যে যেমন ভাব, তেমনি আকারের মধ্যে নিরাকার পরিপূর্ণ।

Page 252.

রক্তমেঘে ঝিলিক মারে
বজ্র বাজে গহন পারে,
কোন পাগল ঐ বারে বারে
উঠছে অট্ট হেসে গো।

হে রুদ্র আমার,
মার্জ্জনা তোমার
গর্জ্জমান বজ্রাগ্নিশিখায়,
সূর্য্যাস্তের প্রলয়লিখায়
রক্তের বর্ষণে,
অকস্মাৎ সংঘাতের ঘর্ষণে ঘর্ষণে।

সহসা ঝঞ্ঝা তড়িৎ শিখায়
মেলিল বিপুল আস্য।
রমণী কাঁপিয়া উঠিল তরাসে,
প্রলয়শঙ্খ বাজিল বাতাসে,
আকাশে বজ্র ঘোর পরিহাসে,
হাসিল অট্টহাস্য।

Page 254.

ঝরিছে মুকুল, কূজিছে কোকিল,
যামিনী জ্যোছনামত্তা।
"কে এসেছ তুমি ওগো দয়াময়"—

শুধাইল নারী, সন্ন্যাসী কয়—
"আজি রজনীতে হয়েছে সময়,—
এসেছি বাসবদত্তা ।"

Page 260.
কঠিন কটু যা আছে মোর প্রাণে
গলিতে চায় অমৃতময় গানে,
সব সাধনা আরাধনা মম
উড়িতে চায় পাখীর মতন সুখে ।

পিছনে ঝরিছে ঝর ঝর জল
গুরু গুরু দেয়া ডাকে,
মুখে এসে পড়ে অরুণ কিরণ
ছিন্ন মেঘের ফাঁকে ।

দিত দেখা মাঝে মাঝে
দূরে যেন বাঁশী বাজে
আভাস শুনিনু যেন হায়,
মেঘে কভু পড়ে রেখা
ফুলে কভু দেয় দেখা
প্রাণে কভু বহে চলে যায় ।

Page 261.
ঘন শ্রাবণ মেঘের মত
রসের ভারে নম্র নত
একটি নমস্কারে প্রভু
একটি নমস্কারে,
সমস্ত মন পড়িয়া থাক
তব ভবনদ্বারে ।

নানা সুরের আকুল ধারা
মিলিয়ে দিয়ে, আত্মহারা
একটি নমস্কারে, প্রভু
একটি নমস্কারে,
সমস্ত গান সমাপ্ত হোক্
নীরব পারাবারে :

হংস যেমন মানস যাত্রী
তেমনি সারাদিবস রাত্রি
একটি নমস্কারে, প্রভু
একটি নমস্কারে,
সমস্ত প্রাণ উড়ে' চলুক
মহা মরণ পারে ॥

ঝর ঝর ধারা আজি উতরোল,
নদী কূলে কূলে উঠে কল্লোল,
বনে বনে গাহে মর্ম্মর স্বরে
নবীন পাতা ;
সজল পবন দিশে দিশে তুলে
বাদল গাথা।

চাইনে জাগাতে পাখীর রবে
নূতন আলোর মহোৎসবে,
চাইনে জাগাতে হাওয়ায় আকুল
বকুল ফুলের বাসে।

যে আনন্দ আসে ঝড়ের বেশে,
ঘুমন্ত প্রাণ জাগায় অট্ট হেসে।
যে আনন্দ দাঁড়ায় আঁখি-জলে
দুঃখসাগর রক্ত শতদলে।

নিবিড় ব্যথায় ফাটিয়া পড়িবে প্রাণ
শূন্য হিয়ার বাঁশিতে বাজিবে গান,
পাষাণ তখন গলিবে নয়ন জলে।

জল উঠেছে ছল্ ছলিয়ে
ঢেউ উঠেছে দুলে,
মর্ম্মরিয়ে ঝরে পাতা
বিজন তরুমূলে ;
শূন্যমনে কোথায় তাকাস্ ?

তুমি ডাক দিয়েছ কোন সকালে কেউ ত জানে না,
আমার মন যে কাঁদে আপন মনে কেউ ত মানে না।
ফিরি আমি উদাস প্রাণে,
তাকাই সবার মুখের পানে,
তোমার মতন এমন টানে কেউ ত টানে না।

গগনতল গিয়েছে মেঘে ভরি,
বাদল-জল পড়িছে ঝরি ঝরি
এ ঘোর রাতে কিসের লাগি
পরাণ মম সহসা জাগি
এমন কেন করিছে মরি মরি।
বাদল-জল পড়িছে ঝরি ঝরি।
বিজলি শুধু ক্ষণিক আভা হানে,
নিবিড়তর তিমির চোখে আনে।

আজি, ঝড়ের রাতে তোমার অভিসার,
পরাণ সখা বন্ধু হে আমার।
আকাশ কাঁদে হতাশ সম,
নাই যে ঘুম নয়নে মম,
দুয়ার খুলি, হে প্রিয়তম,
চাই যে বারে বার।

বাহিরে কিছু দেখিতে নাহি পাই,
তোমার পথ কোথায় ভাবি তাই।

দূরে কোথায় দূরে দূরে
মন বেড়ায় গো ঘুরে ঘুরে,
যে বাঁশীতে বাতাস কাঁদে
সেই বাঁশিটীর সুরে সুরে,
যে পথ সকল দেশ পারায়ে
উদাস হয়ে যায় হারায়ে
সে পথ চেয়ে কাঙাল পরাণ
যেতে চায় কোন অচিন পথে।

The following are a few quotations from Rabindranath's poems illustrating the triplicate imagery. These have not been translated into English.

(১) উচ্ছল জল করে ছল ছল,
জাগিয়া উঠেছে কল কোলাহল,
তরণীপতাকা চলচঞ্চল,
কাঁপিছে অধীর রবে।

(২) নূপুরে নূপুরে দ্রুত তালে তালে
নদীজলতলে বাজিল শিলা,
ভগবান ভানু রক্তনয়নে
হেরিল নিলাজ নিঠুর লীলা।

(৩) বাদর ঝর ঝর গরজে মেঘ
পবন করে মাতামাতি।

(৪) রক্তে তোমার দুলবে না কি প্রাণ ?
গাইবে না মন মরণজয়ী গান ?
আকাঙ্খা তোর বন্যাবেগের মত
ছুটবে না কি বিপুল ভবিষ্যতে ?

(৫) আম্রকাননে ধরেছে মুকুল
ঝরিছে পথের পাশে,
গুঞ্জন স্বরে দু' একটি করে
মৌমাছি উড়ে আসে।

(৬) কলসি কাঁকনে ঝলকি ঝলকি
ভোলা যবে দিক ভ্রান্তে।
দুটি বোন তারা হেসে যায় কেন,
যায় যবে জল আন্‌তে।

(৭) এবার আসনি তুমি মর্ম্মরিত কূজনে গুঞ্জনে,
ধন্য ধন্য তুমি!
রথচক্র মর্ম্মরিয়া এসেছ বিজয়ী রাজসম
গর্ব্বিত নির্ভয়,—

(৮) ঝিকি ঝিকি করি কাঁপিতেছে বট,
ওগো ঘাটে আয়, নিয়ে আয় ঘট,
পথের দু'ধারে শাখে শাখে আজি
পাখীরা গায়;
ভোর থেকে আজ বাদল ছুটেছে
আয় গো আয়।

(৯) আমারো হৃদয় রণিয়া রণিয়া
ধ্বনিবে তবে;
তোমার সুরেতে আমার পরাণ
জড়ায়ে রবে।

(১০) যাত্রী সব ছুটিয়াছে, শূন্য পথ দিয়া
উঠেছে সঙ্গীত কোলাহল,
ওই নিখিলের সাথে, কণ্ঠ মিলাইয়া
মা আমরা যাত্রা করি চল।

(১১) মর্ম্মরিয়া কাঁপে পাতা
কোকিল কোথা ডাকে,
বাবলা ফুলের গন্ধ ছোটে
পল্লীপথের বাঁকে।

(১২) ঘাসের কাঁপা লাগে, পাতার দোলা,
শরতে কাশবনে তুফান তোলা,
প্রভাতে মধুপের গুণগুনানি,
নিশীথে ঝিঁ ঝিঁ রবে জাল বুনানি।
দেখেছি ভোরবেলা ফিরিছ একা,
পথের ধারে পাও কিসের দেখা।

(১৩) দুকূল বহিয়া উঠে পড়ে ঢেউ
দরদর বেগে জলে পড়ি জল
ছলছল উঠে বাজি রে।
খেয়া পারাপার বন্ধ হয়েছে আজি রে॥

(১৪) গুরু গুরু মেঘ গুমরি গুমরি
গরজে গগনে গগনে,
গরজে গগনে।
ধেয়ে চলে আসে বাদলের ধারা।

(১৫) দুটী ঘুঘু সারাটা দিন
ডাক্‌তেছিল শ্রান্তিবিহীন,
একটী ভ্রমর ফির্‌তেছিল
কেবল গুন্‌গুনিয়ে
চৈত্র মাসের নানা ক্ষেতের
নানা বার্ত্তা নিয়ে।

(১৬) বাজুক কাঁকন আমার হাতে
তোমার গানের তালের সাথে
যেমন নদীর ছল ছল জলে
ঝরে ঝর ঝর শ্রাবণ ধারা

(১৭) পাগ্‌লা হাওয়া নৃত্যে মাতি
হল আমার সাথের সাথি,
অট্টহাস্যে ধায় কোথা সে
বারণ না মানে।

(১৮) হিম হয়ে এল সর্ব্ব শরীর
শিহরি উঠিল প্রাণ ;
শোণিত প্রবাহে ধ্বনিতে লাগিল
ভয়ের ভীষণ তান।
সহসা বাজিয়া বাজিয়া উঠিল
দশদিকে বীণা বেণু,
মাথার উপরে ঝরিয়া ঝরিয়া
পড়িল পুষ্পরেণু।

(১৯) যে গন্ধ কাঁপে ফুলের বুকের কাছে,
ভোরের আলোকে যে গান ঘুমায়ে আছে,
শারদ ধান্যে যে আভা আভাসে নাচে।

(২০) রক্ত অনল শত শিখা মেলি
সর্প সমান করে' উঠে কেলি,
গঞ্জনা দেয় তরবারি যেন
কোষমাঝে ঝন্‌ঝন্‌।

(২১) গুরু গর্জ্জনে নীল অরণ্য শিহরে,
উতলা কলাপী কেকা কলরবে বিহরে।

(২২) পাতাল ফুঁড়িয়া উঠিল যেন রে
জ্বালাময়ী শত নাগিনী,
নাচাইয়া ফণা অম্বর পানে
মাতিয়া উঠিল গর্জ্জন গানে
প্রলয়মত্ত রমণীর কাণে
বাজিল দীপক রাগিণী।

(২৩) ওকি শিঞ্জিত ধ্বনিছে কনক মঞ্জীরে
ঝিল্লির রব বাজে বনপথে সঘনে।

(২৪) ঝরে ঘন ধারা নব পল্লবে
কাঁপিছে কানন ঝিল্লির রবে,
তীর ছাপি নদী জল কল্লোলে
এল পল্লীর কাছে রে।

(২৫) কি কথা উঠে মর্ম্মরিয়া বকুলতরুপল্লবে,
ভ্রমর উঠে গুঞ্জরিয়া কি ভাষা,
ঊর্দ্ধমুখে সূর্য্যমুখী স্মরিছে কোন্ বল্লভে
নির্ঝরিণী বহিছে কোন্ পিপাসা।

(২৬) অমনি রমণী কনক দণ্ড
আঘাত করিল ভূমে,
আঁধার হইয়া গেল সে ভবন
রাশি রাশি ধূপ্‌ধূমে;
বাজিয়া উঠিল শতেক শঙ্খ
হুলু কলরব সাথে,
প্রবেশ করিল বৃদ্ধ বিপ্র
ধান্য দুর্ব্বা হাতে।

(২৭) বাজে না কি সন্ধ্যাকালে শান্ত সুরে ক্লান্ত তালে
বৈরাগ্যের বাণী;
সেথায় কিংশুক বনে ঘুমায় না পাখী সনে
আঁধার শাখায়।
তারাগুলি হর্ম্ম্যশিরে উঠে না কি ধীরে ধীরে
রক্তবেগ তরঙ্গিত বুকে।

(২৮) হুহু করে বায়ু ফেলিছে সতত
দীর্ঘশ্বাস।
অন্ধ আবেগে করে গর্জ্জন
জলোচ্ছ্বাস।

(২৯) ঝিল্লিমন্ত্রে শুনাইতে বৈরাগ্য সঙ্গীত, নক্ষত্র সভায়।

(৩০) গম্ভীর জলদমন্ত্রে বারম্বার আবর্ত্তিয়া সুখে
নব ছন্দ;

(৩১) ওরে ওরে ভীত তৃষিত তাপিত
জয় সঙ্গীত গাহ,
মাথার উপরে খর রবিকর
বাড়ুক দিনের দাহ।

(৩২) বীণা তন্ত্রে হান হান খরতর ঝঙ্কার বাজনা,
তোল উচ্চ সুর!
হৃদয় নির্দ্দয়াঘাতে ঝর্ঝরিয়া ঝরিয়া পড়ুক
প্রবল প্রচুর।

(৩৩) হেসে খল খল্ গেয়ে কল কল্
তালে তালে দিব তালি,
তটিনী হইয়া যাইব বহিয়া।

(৩৪) শুনেছিনু যেন মৃদু রিনি রিনি
ক্ষীণ কটি ঘেরি বাজে কিঙ্কিণী,
পেয়েছিনু যেন ছায়া পথে যেতে
তব নিঃশ্বাস পরিমল।

(৩৫) বাতাস যেতেছে বহি', তুমি কেন রহি' রহি'
তারি মাঝে ফেল দীর্ঘশ্বাস,
সুদূরে বাজিছে বাঁশি, তুমি কেন ঢাল আসি
তারি মাঝে বিলাপ উচ্ছ্বাস।

(৩৬) অরণ্য উঠায়ে লক্ষ শাখা
মর্ম্মরিছে মহামন্ত্র ; ঝটিকা উড়ায়ে রুদ্রপাখা
গাহিছে গর্জ্জন গান,

(৩৭) তোমার নূপুর আজি প্রলয়ে উঠিত বাজি
বিজুলী হানিত আঁখি' পর ।

(৩৮) ধ্যান ভাঙি উমাপতি ভূমানন্দ ভরে
নৃত্য করিতেন যবে, জলদ সজল
গর্জ্জিত মৃদঙ্গ রবে, তড়িৎ চপল
ছন্দে ছন্দে দিত তাল ।

(৩৯) উদ্দাম পবন বেগ, গুরু গুরু রব !
গম্ভীর নির্ঘোষ সেই মেঘ সংঘর্ষের,
জাগায়ে তুলিয়াছিল সহস্র বর্ষের
অন্তর্গূঢ় বাষ্পাকুল বিচ্ছেদ ক্রন্দন
একদিন । ছিন্ন করি কালের বন্ধন
সেইদিন ঝরে পড়েছিল অবিরল
চির দিবসের—যেন রুদ্ধ অশ্রুজল ।

(৪০) আজি অন্ধকার দিবা বৃষ্টি ঝর ঝর,
দুরন্ত পবন অতি, আক্রমণে তার
অরণ্য উদ্যত বাহু করে—হাহাকার,
বিদ্যুত দিতেছে উঁকি ছিঁড়ি মেঘভার ।

(৪১) ছায়া কাঁপে আলো কাঁপে ঝুরু ঝুরু বহে যায়,
ঝর ঝর সর সর পাতা ঝরে পড়ে যায় ।

(৪২) বেড়াক ভাসিয়া
রজনীগন্ধার গন্ধ মদির লহরী,
সমীরহিল্লোলে স্বপ্নে বাজুক বাঁশরী
চন্দ্রলোক প্রান্ত হতে, তোমার অঞ্চল
বায়ুভরে উড়ে এসে পুলক চঞ্চল
বারুক আমার তনু ;

(৪৩) অধীর মর্ম্মরে
শিহরি উঠুক বন ; মাথার উপরে
চকোর ডাকিয়া যাক দূরশ্রুততান ;
সম্মুখে পড়িয়া থাক তটান্ত শয়ান—
সুপ্ত নটিনীর মত নিস্তব্ধ তটিনী !

(৪৪) অনন্তের গীতি
বাজায়ে শিরার তন্ত্রে ! ফাটুক হৃদয়
ভূমানন্দে—ব্যাপ্ত হয়ে যাক্ শূন্যময় ।

(৪৫) কার কেশপাশ হতে খসি পুষ্পদল
পড়িছে আমার বক্ষে, করিছে চঞ্চল
চেতনা প্রবাহ ! কোথায় গাহিছ গান !
তোমরা কাহারা মিলি করিতেছ পান
কিরণকনকপাত্রে সুগন্ধি অমৃত—

(৪৬) ছোট ছোট ঢেউ উঠে আর পড়ে,
রবির কিরণ ঝিকিমিকি করে,
আকাশেতে পাখী চলে যায় ডাকি,
বায়ু বহে যায় ধীরে ।

(৪৭) সিংহ-দুয়ারে বাজিল বিষাণ,
বন্দীরা ধরে সন্ধ্যার তান,
মন্ত্রণা-সভা হল সমাধান
দ্বারী ফুকারিয়া বলে

(৪৮) ভীষণ ঢেউ শিশুর কাণে
রচিছে গাথা তরল তানে,
দোলনা ধরি যেমন গানে
জননী দেয় ঠেলা,

(৪৯) যে পথ দিয়ে পাঠান এসেছিল
সে পথ দিয়ে ফিরলো নাকো তারা,
ফাগুণ রাতের কুঞ্জ বিতানে
মত্ত কোকিল বিরাম না জানে,
কেতুনপুরের বকুল বাগানে
কেশর খাঁয়ের খেলা হল সারা !

(৫০) মোর সর্ব্ব বক্ষ জুড়ে কত নৃত্যে কত সুরে
এস কাছে যাও দূরে শত লক্ষবার,
তুমি পড়িতেছ এসে তরঙ্গের মত হেসে
হৃদয়ে আমার।

(৫১) শান্ত হ'রে শান্ত হ'রে প্রাণ,
ক্ষান্ত করিস্ প্রগল্ভ এই গান,
স্তব্ধ করিস্ বুকের দোলাদুলি।

(৫২) ঘুঘুডাকে ঝিল্লিরবে কি মন্ত্র শ্রবণে ক'বে,
মুদে যাবে চোখের পলক।

(৫৩) সহচরি সব নাচ নাচ,
মধুর গীত গাও রে,
চঞ্চল মঞ্জীর রবে
কুঞ্জগগন ছাও রে।

(৫৪) তুলই কুসুম মঞ্জরী
ভ্রমর ফিরই গুঞ্জরি
অলস যমুনা বহয়ি যায়
ললিত গীত গাহিরে।

(৫৫) নীরব রাতে ধীর ধীর গতি
বাঁশি বাজাওয়ে শ্যাম,
উলসিত ফুলদল পুলকিত যমুনা
জাগ রে কানন ধাম।

(৫৬) কাঁপায়ে আমার হৃদয়ের সীমা
বাজিবে তোমার অসীম মহিমা,
চির বিচিত্র আনন্দরূপে
ধরা দিবে জীবনে।

(৫৭) দলে দলে চলে বাঁধাবাঁধি বাহুবন্ধনে,
ধ্বনিছে শূন্যে জয়সঙ্গীত রাগিণী,
নূতন পতাকা নূতন প্রাসাদ প্রাঙ্গণে।

(৫৮) বৃথা কেন উঠে হুলুধ্বনি
বৃথা কেন বেজে উঠে শাঁখ
বাঁধা আঁচল খুলে ফেলে বর।

(৫৯) কাঁপিবে না ক্লান্ত কর, ভাঙ্গিবে না কণ্ঠস্বর,
টুটিবে না বীণা।

(৬০) ভয়ে পাখী কূজন গেল ভুলে
রাজপুতানীর উচ্চ উপহাসে,
কোথা রাঙ্গা কুজ্ঝটিকা
লাগল যেন রাঙ্গা সন্ধ্যাকাশে।

(৬১) যমুনা কল্লোল গানে, চিন্তিতের কানে কানে
কহে কত কি যে;
নদী পারে রক্তছবি দিনান্তের ক্লান্ত রবি
গেল অস্তাচলে।

(৬২) মম চিত্তে নিতি নৃত্যে কে যে নাচে
তা তা থৈ থৈ তা তা থৈ থৈ তা তা থৈ থৈ,
তারি সঙ্গে কি মৃদঙ্গে সদা বাজে
তা তা থৈ থৈ
তা তা থৈ থৈ তা তা থৈ থৈ;
হাসি কান্না হীরা পান্না দোলে ভালে।

(৬৩) তোমার হাসির আভাস লেগে,
বিশ্ব দোলন দোলার বেগে
উঠ্‌ল জেগে আমার গানের
কল্লোলিনী কলরোল।

(৬৪) কাঁপ্‌ছে দেহে কাঁপ্‌ছে মনে, হাওয়ার সাথে আলোর সনে,
মর্ম্মরিয়া উঠছে কলতান।
কোন্ অতিথি এসেছে গো, কারেও আমি চিনিনে গো
মোর দ্বারে কে করছে আনাগোনা।

(৬৫) কোন্ পুরাণো যুগের বাণী, অর্থ যাহার নাহি জানি,
তোমার মুখে উঠছে আজি ফুটে।
অনন্ত তোর প্রাচীন স্মৃতি, কোন্ ভাষাতে গাঁথছে গীতি
শুনে চক্ষে অশ্রুধারা ছুটে !

(৬৬) থর থর করি কাঁপিছে ভূধর
শিলা রাশি রাশি পড়িছে খসে’,
ফুলিয়া ফুলিয়া ফেনিল সলিল
গরজি উঠিছে দারুণ রোষে ;
হোথায় হেথায় পাগলের প্রায়
ঘুরিয়া ঘুরিয়া মাতিয়া বেড়ায়,
বাহিরেতে চায় দেখিতে না পায়
কোথায় কারার দ্বার !

SARASI LAL SARKAR.

KRISTODAS PAL DEATH ANNIVERSARY

A representative public meeting was held on the 24th July last at the Calcutta University Institute to properly celebrate the 44th death anniversary of the great Bengali patriot and most successful journalist, the late Kristodas Pal, with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Costello of the Calcutta High Court in the chair and highly appreciative speeches were made by the President, the Rev. Dr. Bridges, Professor Hirankumar Banerji, Khan Bahadur Asaduzzaman (Vakil, High Court), Mr. Iswardas Jalan (Councillor, Calcutta Corporation), Mr. Cameron (Secretary, Anglo-Indian Association), Miss E. Rivett (Principal, United Missionary Girls' College) and Mrs. Santoshkumari Gupta.

We have not space for all the speeches and can therefore present to our readers only extracts from them.

The President Mr. Justice Costello, in addressing the meeting, said—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have presided at many gatherings of various kinds. I have taken part in all kinds of meetings but I am free to confess that never in my life have I been present at any gathering which have impressed me more than this assembly here.

I say quite frankly that I am surprised at the size of this audience. I doubt very much whether any other nation in the world could have produced a meeting of this character, because on this platform and in this room there have gathered together people of different communities with a diverse outlook on life from many points of view and yet here we are all assembled to do honour to a great man.

The most astonishing feature of this meeting, to my mind, is the presence of such a large body of young men. I say again quite deliberately that in my opinion there is no other nation in the world where young men would assemble in such a large number, if at all, to do honour to a man who had passed away nearly half a century ago. I am quite certain that if some one attempted, for example, to produce a meeting of this character in honour of some great Englishman who had died in the mid-Victorian era, he might not have found half a dozen people who would take the trouble to attend. *** I had seen the statue which is at the corner of the road quite close to this place. I asked an English friend of mine who was Kristodas Pal and the reply was "he was a great and good Bengalee." I think you will probably agree with me that most of us would be well content if after we have departed this life, it should be said of us that "we were great and good." No man could desire a better or nobler epitaph***.

The highest reward of any man's life-work is not that it should bring him titular honours or wealth or even contemporaneous recognition. The best reward in truth that any man or any woman can achieve is that he or she should live in the hearts or minds of their fellow countrymen. Trying in my own way to analyse why the memory of Kristodas Pal is so vivid and so revered I came to the conclusion after having read some of his writings and some of the speeches which were delivered on occasions similar to this, held in previous years, that the real secret of the man's inspiration was this: that he was in the very highest sense of the expression a real patriot and that what he set before him, either consciously, or, perhaps, subconsciously, was the ideal of doing something—doing "his bit" for his day and generation and striving so to think, so to work, so to write, and, above all, so to live that the world at large and in particular the country to which he belonged should be all the better for the fact that he had lived in it.

To sum up in one word, which to my mind expresses the highest ideal that any man can put before him, his motto was

" Service and not Self." I am certain from the speeches delivered here this evening that it was the noble aim and ambition of "service" the service to his country and to his fellowmen which animated Kristodas Pal. That being the case he has rightly attained the highest reward which can fall to the lot of any man and that reward is " Immortality." It has been well said that to be forgotten—that alone is death : to be remembered—is to be immortal, and your great compatriot, the man whom we delight to honour this evening, has joined the Immortals and his memory will not only live for ever more in this country, but will serve as an example and inspiration to successive generations for all time to come.

One word more and I have done, and it is this. The speeches which I have heard this evening have so stirred me that I could almost wish that I were not in a position which prevents me from taking an active part in what is ordinarily described as " politics." But however we are situate we can all in our own sphere do something to serve our generation. The inspiring speeches which you have listened to this evening, must, I am sure, have struck a responsive echo in every one of your hearts. I am not at all surprised at the eulogistic things which have been said about Kristodas Pal. So far as I can gather from the short acquaintance which I have with his writings and the knowledge which I have gained as to his life and work, I feel that everything that has been said of him is in the highest degree justified. If I may say so with all possible respect I congratulate Bengal for having as one of her illustrious sons so great a man as Kristodas Pal.

Rev. Dr. P. G. Bridge, Principal, St. Paul's College, said :—

Speaker after speaker has noted that one of the salient features which made him the man he became was his openness of mind, his desire to meet all classes and to listen to every shade of opinion before forming his own. He did feel very strongly on many subjects yet he was always ready to listen to every side of every question that came before him. This is indeed a trait in the character of truly great men. His articles in the "Hindu Patriot" are abundant testimony of his sincerity of purpose and open-mindedness. He wrote nothing without fully verifying the facts. How many of our journalists to-day could say that not a line is published in their journals without verification of the facts. His criticism was based on solid facts and figures and not upon mere rhetorical camouflage. Hence the warm tribute that Sir Rivers Thompson paid him: "This I can assert without fear of contradiction, that there was no matter of any great public importance, connected either with administration or legislation, in which the Government were more assisted than they were during the last fifteen or twenty years by the independent and unbiassed sagacity and judgment of Kristo Das Pal."

He was a courageous man, but he possessed the courage that respects difference of opinion, and does not humiliate and despise the opponents. It has been observed by no less a person than Sir Stewart Bayley: "His criticisms were trenchant; his speech was certainly never wanting in effect, or force, or vigour; and in these capacities, no doubt, he gave very many hard knocks, for some of which I myself have come in. But I may say he never lost the respect and admiration of adversaries. He has left an example of independence, of moderation, of unrivalled powers of conciliation and a character which, above all, Young Bengal should always have before them as an ideal."

What India requires above all is the creation of a strong middle class which will act as the link of union between the landed aristocracy of this country and the landless classes. The stability of a nation, Aristotle observed centuries ago depends on the existence of a strong middle class who are the mediatory between the rich and the poor. That is what India wants to-day.

Prof. Hiran Kumar Banerji, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.) said :—

To my mind the character of the man has a far greater effect than the glory and triumph that he had achieved. He brought some of the finest qualities of head and heart to his great work in life. There was a fearlessness in the man which no calumny can ever belittle. I need hardly remind you how manfully he fought the country's battle against the Cess Act, the abolition of Indian Import Duty, and Assam Cooly Act, to mention only a few of the controversies in which he was engaged during his life. He was fearless, and I may almost say uncompromising when he felt that a wrong and injustice had been done. Temperamentally he was a moderate man and his balance of mind was almost unique. It was this balance of mind and transparent honesty of purpose that were primarily responsible for the influence that he exercised over the generation that followed. It was the same sterling honesty that he brought to his wonderful career as a journalist.

Khan Bahadur Asaduzzaman, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Calcutta High Court, said :—

He was the friend, the philosopher and the guide of the great zamindars and the most influential man of Bengal of his time and was the respected and trusted adviser and counsellor of the Provincial and Imperial Governments. He was no less an ardent advocate and champion of the rights of the peasants and the labourers than he was the upholder of the prestige and dignity of the landed magnates.

On a perusal of his writings one cannot but be struck by the thought that he was a man fifty years ahead of his times.

The Indian National Congress demand for Self-Government was not formulated till 1906, but Kristo Das Pal made a demand for Home Rule on colonial lines as long ago as 1874.

His note on agricultural banks was written about 50 years ago. The essential part of the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission (of 1926) made in 1928 does not carry us any further than the scheme adumbrated by Kristo Das Pal fifty years ago.

His life teaches us that one can be the respected friend and trusted adviser of the Government while being a severe critic of its measures.

Where he had to collate facts, to manipulate figures, to assail premises or conclusions, to tabulate results, to advance arguments, to cite authorities, to expose inconsistencies and detect fallacies, he was in his element.

Love, sympathy and goodwill to all were the predominating traits of a public life which is not the least valuable of many legacies that Kristo Das Pal has bequeathed to his countrymen and those high qualities were reflected in the conduct of the great journal over which he presided with consummate ability for the space of nearly a quarter of a century.

Loyalty to the Crown and justice to the people ought to be the battle cry of every champion of his country's cause.

Mr. Isswar Das Jalan, M.A., B.L., Councillor, Calcutta Corporation, said :—

It was in 1864 or 1865 that Kristo Das Pal was advocating and requesting our Government that we should be given equal rights as the other colonies possessed. It is a matter of surprise and it is a matter also of regret that although we are now in 1928 we have not been able to realize the ideals which were the ideals of Kristo Das Pal.

In 1865 Kristo Das Pal wrote :- " Can India of to-day stand where she was 10 years ago?" Cannot we ask the Government the similar question " Can India of to-day be the same as it was during the time of Kristo Das Pal ?" It is a matter of real satisfaction to us all that even in those days India wanted full responsible Government.

"It is strange that, notwithstanding their boasted English education, their intimate contact with Englishmen, their imitation of English habits and fashions, they are still so much behindhand in appreciating the best English virtues—independence and union.

Do they ever see an Englishmen surrender the interests of his country or the honour of his nation from a love of filthy lucre or from base fear? Do they ever see any want of union among Englishmen in upholding their national character? If the personal examples of Englishmen will not teach our countrymen the glory of political unity, we do not know what will.

Disunion has been the cause of India's ruin both in the past and in the present. Self-seeking mutual jealousies, intrigues, and machination have frustrated the most important objects and miscarried the most laudable undertakings.

The mass may be cowed down by the show of the bayonet but even they, in the inmost recesses of their hearts, despise the hand that brandishes the sword to exact obedience. There is a grandeur in moral prestige which no special laws, no special courts, no special procedure supported by the sanction of brute force can lend."

Could you find more forceful and more independent style than this even at present? This is what Kristo Das Pal was.

He was a pioneer of all-round reforms. Not only was he a political reformer but was also a pioneer of social reforms.

Mr. Cameron, Secretary, Calcutta Anglo-Indian Association, said :—

In these days of transition and ferment, when passions are apt to run high, the life, speeches and writings of Kristo Das Pal are a practical proof that loyalty to the Ctown is perfectly compatible with an unflinching and uncompromising advocacy of India's legitimate aspirations.

My community to-day, awakening to a consciousness of pride in their position as natives of India and, feeling for the first time the pulsations of a national life and national aspirations, would surely have found in him a trusted friend and adviser to assist them in their new ideals and one who, understanding and sympathising with their apprehensions, would have constituted himself the interpreter between the youngest of India's peoples and their elder brothers.

Miss F. Rivett, M.A., Principal, United Missionary Girls' College said :—

I should like us to remind ourselves to-day of a few gleams of light which shine across our ways as we recall Kristodas Pal's inspired words. I shall refer only to those which concern his dream of the emancipation of his country's women and the high standards he desired to see his own University setting in education.

He has a lofty idea of what society would be were the women of Bengal free to enter into it bringing beauty and goodness and truth. He says :—

"It is a pity that Indian ladies should be shut up in the zenana to rust in inaction and inexperience, permitted not to enjoy life or grace, society and the world, unable to improve themselves or improve others, to refine manners and enrich domestic and social life."

The next point I want to raise is that of the University and Kristo Das Pal's fearless enunciation of principles which should underlie its organisation.

"One of the most important functions of the University is to defend the cause of education from the caprices and fantasies of individuals.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that there should be a buffer—and a stout one—to stand between it and individual caprices and fantasies.

Without it violent concussions of adverse opinions are sure to knock the educational train entirely off its rails. If every man in power were allowed to pluck out what his predecessors had grown simply because the plant does not seem to be of the exact variety for which he has a fancy, without waiting to taste its fruit, the result would not but be most mischievous.

The University should, therefore, always keep its weather eye open in this direction. By the nature of its constitution, embracing as it does in the Senate the heads of all the principal educational institutions and some of the foremost men of knowledge and experience in the country, and moving on without any periodical break or change in its course it is capable of giving to the educational policy of India a stability and progressive power. If it desires, it can be all-powerful in its sphere, but to be so it must be above private interest, above subserviency to men in power, above a temporising policy and, what is more, it must win the confidence of the public by unflinching adherence to fair dealing.

The University of Calcutta merely stamps the trade mark upon the articles. exhibited before it. Will it be content with this function? Will it do nothing to stamp its beneficent influence upon the destinies of the country? Should not a course of action be adopted which will really benefit the people and advance them in the race of progress? "

Mrs. Santosh Kumari Gupta, said :—

I have not the power to portray into your heart of hearts his burning desire for freedom, the unfathomed love of his country and that spirit of patriotism which he left for us. I stand before you only representing the woman-folk of the country and tell you that I am merely a woman who to-day stands before you as a votary to dedicate her heartful offering at the altar of this great man of India.

India of to-day is not India of yesterday. The national ideal which was promulgated by Mahatma Gandhi and by our late lamented Desbandhu Das—that principle of freedom they enunciated were not unknown—they were not new to Kristo Das Pal. He had the same national ideal though the people of that time could hardly realize it.

Kristo Das Pal said, " shortsighted politicians look to brute force as the only means of securing the stability of an empire but they labour under a huge delusion. No empire can rest on brute force alone. It should be tempered and sanctioned by a higher force, which touches the inner man and binds mind to mind." Think of these words and try to realize that they were said years and years ago.

Reviews

Proceedings of the First Indian Philosophical Congress, 1925. (Published by the Calcutta Philosophical Society, Senate House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 7-8 or 10*s*. net.)

This is a substantial contribution to philosophical studies of the present day. It is a handsome collection of about fifty original papers by distinguished scholars—Indian and European—who are especially interested in the study and teaching of philosophy. The papers are of varied interest and touch on many fundamental philosophical problems that engage the attention of eminent thinkers in the East and the West. It is in the fitness of things that the bulk of the work is a study and research of Indian philosophy in its different branches and periods of development. But it will be readily seen that European philosophy in its main divisions (Logic, Metaphysics, Religion, History, Ethics and Social Philosophy) has occupied no less important a place in the deliberations of this learned body. Besides this the reader will find matters of general interest and high cultural value in the addresses delivered by illustrious persons like Lord Lytton and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore among others. The special merit of the work under review is to suggest new lines of approach to and shed fresh light on some of the outstanding problems of philosophy. If co-operation in philosophical studies has any value, the above Proceedings possess it to the full. The get-up of the book is excellent. It will not compare unfavourably with bigger things like the proceedings of the International Congress of Philosophy. The book should command wide circulation. The Calcutta Philosophical Society is to be congratulated on the inauguration of this new institution of the Indian Philosophical Congress.

A. B. L.

A Chronology of Ancient India—By Dr. S. N. Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D. pp. xxxii and 291. Royal 8vo. Published by the Calcutta University.

European scepticism had for a long time stood in the way of our accepting the historical value of the Purāṇas and pushing thereby the antiquity of Indian culture to the third or fourth millenniums B.C., which saw the beginnings of the culture of ancient Babylon or Egypt, It was however reserved for a European scholar to take up the problem seriously and the late Mr. Pargiter won undying reputation among indologists by proving that the Paurānic records were not mere fabrications, but real historical records, though often mixed up with myths and fables. The results of his labours were made public in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1910). His article attracted the attention of a number of Indian scholars, who took up his work and among these the names of two are worth mentioning, *viz.*, Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri and the writer of the volume under review. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri worked in connection with the period extending from the accession of king Pariksit to the coronation of king Bimbisāra of Magadha. Dr. Pradhan, as his book shows, has carried his investigations to an earlier and more obscure period.

The book is divided into a large number of chapters in the first of which, the author tries to establish the synchronism of the Vedic king Divodāsa Pañcāla with Daśaratha the father of Rama, the hero of the Rāmāyana, a conclusion which is nearly the same as attained by the late Mr. Pargiter. In a number of succeeding chapters, similar major synchronisms are established, and the Paurānic accounts relating to the Yadus, Pañcālas, Sṛnjayas, Aṅgas, Kāsis and other dynasties are cleared up (Chs. III to XIII) in collaboration with the evidence of the Vedic literature. The author then passes to his next important theme, that, from Divodāsa to the incidents of the Mahābhārata, the number of generations which intervened varies from 12 to 15 in the different dynastic lists.

In the Ch. XIV, he discusses the probable duration of a generation and after calculating the mean average of human life, he assigns an average of 28 years to each generation and fixes the date of Divodāsa at 1514 B.C.

In the two succeeding chapters, *e.g.*, XVII and XVIII, he takes great pains to refute the chronology of the Vedic period as advanced by the Late Lokamānya B. G. Tilak and Dr. A. C. Das of the Calcutta University.

Having fixed the dates for the kings of the upper limit of the period, he takes up his investigation in regard to the dates of the period from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta. He fixes the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession at 325 B.C. or 327 B.C. By adding the intervening regnal-periods, he comes to the figure 513 B. C. as the date of Pradyota's accession and 533 B.C. for Prasenajit's accession. To this date he adds the period covered by kings of Magadha or Kosala, at the rate of 28 years for each king and thus comes to the year 1149 or 1151 B.C. which according to him was the date of the Bharata battle (*cir.* 1150 B.C.) For this date he attempts to find confirmation by adding the evidence furnished by the astronomical data in the Vedanga Jyotish.

It is not the place for a detailed examination of the chronological findings of the author, for we do honestly believe that every serious student of Indian history should as yet keep an open mind as to the chronological landmarks of the obscure and almost prehistoric period. The author's efforts are praiseworthy and his discussions show his careful and minute investigation, but we must bear in mind that even if we accept the date of Udayana's or Bimbisāra's accession as fixed by him still there is the chance of a big error creeping in, with the acceptance of the average regnal period. The author has assigned 28 years to each generation of king, and this may not be accepted by all. Mr. Pargiter makes allowance for 26 kings as the approximate number of rulers who intervened between the Bhārata war and the accession of Mahāpadma who became king in 382 B.C. He has assigned only 18 years to each king and thus brings the date of the war to 850 B.C. Furthermore, we think that the absolute rejection of the fixed interval of 1015 years between the Nandas and Parikṣita is objectionable. The assumption of such an interval may or may not be justifiable, but the author should have taken care to advance solid reasons for his rejection. Similarly, we have a right to take exception to some of his statements. One instance may be cited, *viz.*, that a reign of 64 years assigned to Srutastravas is unknown in history (page 260). A little more of enquiry would have brought to his notice that Louis XIV reigned for 72 years and even in recent times Francis Joseph of Austria reigned for 68 years (1848 to 1916). In making such statements, the author should have taken more care.

We congratulate the author on his careful investigation and his patience in collecting minute details from the traditional literature mixed with myths and fables. We hope that his book will be welcomed by students and scholars alike and his name will be honoured as that of a pioneer in his department. It will evoke interest in younger men particularly, who will carry on their researches into the more ancient and more obscure periods of Indian history and give the lie to the suggestion of those who harp on the modernity of Indian culture. As Pargiter himself has shown, the traditional records preserve the names of 95 kings who ruled prior to the Bhārata war (see Pargiter, I. H. Tradition, pp. 144-149), and assigning a reasonable period of 20 years to each king, the date of the earliest Hindu ruler can be safely carried to 3200 B.C., a period almost synchronous with that of Menes, the traditional founder of the Egyptian civilisation, The printing and get-up of the book are excellent, though by a more careful correction of the proofsheets many of the typographical errors would have been avoided.

N. C. B.

Ancient India—By Prof. U. N. Ball, M.A., of the Dyal Singh College, Lahore ; pp. 278, Cr. 8vo.

Within the narrow compass of 278 pages, Mr. Ball has attempted to give a comprehensive survey of the social and political history of India. His book is intended for college students and covers the whole period from the Vedic Age to the eve of the Moslem conquest. The author's attempt is creditable and the plan of the book is good. He has moreover incorporated in his volume, the opinions of European scholars and the findings of modern researchers. In spite of all this, there are errors and shortcomings which go to lessen the value of the book. In some places, the author comes to abrupt conclusions and in some other places he makes statements without furnishing any reasons. Thus, rejecting the views of Bühler he brings down the Manusaṃhitā to the 3rd Cen. A. D. Similarly, he assigns to Vidura, the son of the slave girl, a status equal to the Kṣatriya princes and makes Virajas the son of Brahmā instead Viṣṇu. The language is not bad, but occasionally grammatical errors are found, especially some relating to the use of the definite article. The proof-sheets ought to have been more carefully revised and this would have prevented the large number of mistakes which find place even in this revised edition. We draw the attention of the author to these.

N. C. B.

GEORGE EWAN

Ourselves.

THE LATE DR. EWAN

We deeply regret to have to record the sudden and premature death on the 2nd July of the Rev. Dr. George Ewan, M.A., Ph.D., of the Scottish Churches College at the age of only 42, who was closely connected with us as a Lecturer in Philosophy in the Post-Graduate Department and for the past few months as a Fellow of the University and a Syndic.

Dr. Ewan was a distinguished graduate of the Edinburgh University which honoured him also with the degree of Ph.D., and came out to this country in 1913 and by his devotion as a missionary has rendered valuable service to the cause of Christianity besides being an educationist of reputation. His remains were followed by a large body of sincere mourners, European and Indian, to the Scottish Churches Cemetery to find their final rest and we sincerely join with the Syndicate in the expression of our deep sense of sorrow at the loss caused by his death and offer our sympathy to his family now in Scotland.

* * *

ADHAR CHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen of the Santiniketan, Bolpur, has been appointed as Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer, 1928, and he will deliver lectures on Mediæval Indian Religious Movements.

* * *

RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

B.Com.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination was 105 of whom 40 passed, 56 failed, none was expelled and 9 were absent. Of the successful candidates 1 was placed in Class I and 39 in Class II.

* * *

B.A.

The number of candidates registered for the B.A. examination was 3,461, 3,269 of whom actually appeared, of whom 1,531 were successful, 144 were absent, 11 were expelled and 1,727 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,249 were placed on the Pass List and 266 on the Honours List, 2 passed in one subject and 14 in two subjects only. Of the candidates in the Honours List 26 were placed in the First Class and 240 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 126 passed with Distinction.

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DATE OF D.P.H. EXAMINATIONS

Tuesday, the 27th November, 1928, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next D.P.H. Examinations, Parts I and II.

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STATE TECHNICAL SCHOLARSHIP

The Government of Bengal have decided to grant, in the year 1928-29, two State Technical Scholarships, each of the value of £200 per annum *plus* a bonus of £40 per annum in the following subjects :—

(1) Theory and practice of sizing and calendering in respect of textile manufacture.

(2) Automobile Engineering.

Candidates for subject No. 1 should hold an honours degree in Chemistry with Physics and Mathematics. For subject No. 2 candidates should possess a degree in Engineering. Candidates with Mechanical Engineering Diploma of the Bengal Engineering College are also eligible for subject No. 2. The scholarships are ordinarily tenable for two years in Great Britain but this period may be extended for a further period, should the High Commissioner for India recommend that such an extension is necessary for the satisfactory completion of the course, by visits to suitable firm or practical training in workshops, as the case may be.

Selection will be made from candidates actually associated in the industries in question and from those who can satisfy Government that they intend to make a career in the industry. Applications should be accompanied by a full statement of particulars of the following with copies of testimonials :—

(*a*) Age (which should not exceed 25) on 1st September, 1928.

(*b*) Place of residence.

(*c*) Father's name and occupation.

(*d*) Qualifications :—(*i*) Educational, (*ii*) Practical.

(*e*) Certificate of physical fitness.

Applications should be addressed to the Director of Industries, Bengal, 40-1A, Free School Street, Calcutta, and should reach him not later than the 31st July, 1928.

A. T. WESTON,
Director of Industries, Bengal (Offg.)

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FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

RESOLUTION.

Simla, the 9th May, 1928.

Rules for the examination of candidates for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Imperial Customs Service.

No. F./16/II./R.II.—In supersession of this Department Resolution No. F./35/I./F.E., dated the 25th April 1927, the following revised rules, which are liable to alteration from year to year, are prescribed for the examination of candidates in

India for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Imperial Customs Service. Special rules applicable to Burman candidates will be issued later. Burman candidates shall not compete at the competitive examination to be held under Rule 1 in the year 1928.

1. A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Imperial Customs Service shall be held in India at such time as the Governor-General in Council may direct.

2. The maximum number of candidates to be admitted to the examination may, at the discretion of the Governor-General in Council, be limited to such number, not being less than 200, as the Governor-General in Council may decide. If the number of candidates exceeds that limit, the Public Service Commission shall select from among the applicants those who shall be admitted to the examination, having regard to the suitability of the applicants for the Services in question.

3. (*i*) A candidate shall apply to be admitted to the examination before such date, and in such form, as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe.

(*ii*) If a candidate is employed at the date of his application in Government service he shall make application through the head of his Department to the Local Government if he is employed by the Local Government, or to the Government of India if he is employed in a department under the control of the Government of India.

(*iii*) If he is not in such service, he shall apply to the authority of the area in which his parents reside at the time of the application or have previously resided for a period of not less than three years, or in which he has himself resided (otherwise than as a student at a University only) for the like period.

The authority of the area to whom application shall be made, shall, if the application is based on residence in a

Governor's province, be the Local Government of that province; if it is based on residence in Coorg, the North West Frontier Province, Delhi or Ajmer-Merwara, be the Chief Commissioner concerned, and, if it is based on residence in a State in India, be the Political Officer or Agent through the Durbar.

(*iv*) No candidate shall make more than one application in any year.

4. A candidate must be a male who is either (*i*) a British subject of Indian domicile, who was, and whose father and mother were, born within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance, or (*ii*) a British subject of Indian domicile whose father was at the time of the candidate's birth and still is (or if dead, continued until his death to be) a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (*iii*) a ruler or a subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor-General in Council has made a declaration under section 96-A of the Government of India Act.

5. A candidate must have attained the age of 22 and must not have attained the age of 25 on the 1st day of August in the year in which the examination is held, provided that a candidate, over the age of 25 and under the age of 30 on that date, may be admitted to the examination (*a*) if he holds a substantive post under Government and (*b*) if he is recommended by the head of his Department.

6. A candidate must be in good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient discharge of his duties and a candidate who is found, after examination by a Medical Board, not to satisfy these requirements, will not be accepted for admission to the examination.

7. A candidate must satisfy the Governor-General in Council that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the public service. No candidate who is in the employment of Government will be admitted to the examination unless

the report from the head of his Department as to his character and attainments is satisfactory.

*8. A candidate must hold a Degree of a University approved by the Governor-General in Council or the Senior Diploma of the Mayo College, Ajmere.

In exceptional cases the Public Service Commission may, on the recommendation of the Local Government, treat as a qualified candidate, a candidate who though not possessing any of the foregoing qualifications, has passed examinations conducted by other institutions of a standard which, in the opinion of the Commission, justifies his admission to the examination.

9. No candidate shall be admitted to the examination unless he holds a certificate given by the Public Service Commission of having been accepted for admission.

10. Candidates must pay the following fees :—

(*i*) Rs. 5 with the application form ;

(*ii*) Rs. 16 for the examination by a Medical Board, and

(*iii*) if accepted for admission to the examination, Rs. 50 within three weeks after the notification of acceptance.

No claim for a refund of these fees will be entertained.

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* *The following Universities have been approved by the Governor-General in Council, viz.*

Indian Universities.

Any University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India.

The Mysore University.

The Osmania University.

English and Welsh Universities.

The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield, Wales and Reading.

Scotch Universities.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Irish Universities

The University of Dublin (and Trinity College), the Queen's University of Belfast,

11. The examination will include the following subjects. Each subject carries the number of marks shown against it :—

Section A to be taken by all candidates—

English	300
Viva voce	200

Section B candidates are allowed to take not more than two of the following subjects, each of which carries a maximum of 400 marks :—

Political Economy and Economic History.
Mathematics (pure and mixed).
Physics.
Chemistry.
Indian and English History.

One of the following classical languages with its literature :—

Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

12. A candidate who takes Physics or Chemistry as an optional subject must have undergone one year's laboratory training in an institution authorised to prepare candidates in that subject for a University Degree and must send in a voucher to that effect from the head of the Institution.

13. If a candidate's handwriting is not easily legible, a deduction, which may be of considerable amount, will be made on this account from the total marks otherwise accruing to him.

14. A list of competitors shall be made out in order of their proficiency as disclosed by the aggregate marks finally

awarded to each competitor and in that order so many competitors up to the determined number of appointments as are found by the Public Service Commission to be qualified by examination, shall be designated to be selected candidates, provided that the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that the candidate is duly qualified in other respects. Should any selected candidate become disqualified the candidate next in order of merit and in other respects duly qualified shall be deemed to be a selected candidate. The Governor-General in Council will decide to which service a successful candidate shall be assigned, and, in doing so, will, so far as possible, have regard to any preference stated by the candidate.

Ordered that the Resolution be published in the *Gazette of India.*

E. BURDON,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. F. 16-II-R. II.

Copy forwarded to Provincial Governments and Minor Local Governments (including all Agents to the Governor-General and Residents, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Baroda and Gwalior), with the request that it may be communicated to Directors of Public Instruction and all Heads of Colleges in their respective provinces ; the High Commissioner for India ; the several Departments of the Government of India ; the Officer on special Duty, the Public Service Commission ; the Financial Commissioner, Railways ; the Financial Advisers, Military Finance and Posts and Telegraphs ; the Military and Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy ;

the Auditor General ; the Central-Board of Revenue ; the Controller and the Deputy Controllers of the Currency ; the Mint and Assay Masters, and the Master, Security Printing, India.

Copy also forwarded to all Accountants General, the Director of Audit, United Provinces and the Comptroller, Assam ; to all Railway Audit Officers under the control of the Accountant General, Railways ; to the Chief Accounts Officer, East Indian Railway, Calcutta, and the Deputy Chief Accounts Officer, East Indian Railway, Coaching, Lucknow ; Directors of Army and Commercial Audit ; Examiners of Press and Customs Accounts ; all other Audit Officers and all Pay and Accounts Officers.

By order, etc.,

C. N. CHACKRABURTY,

Asst Secy. to the Govt. of India.

HOME DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION.

ESTABLISHMENTS.

Simla, the 5th June, 1928.

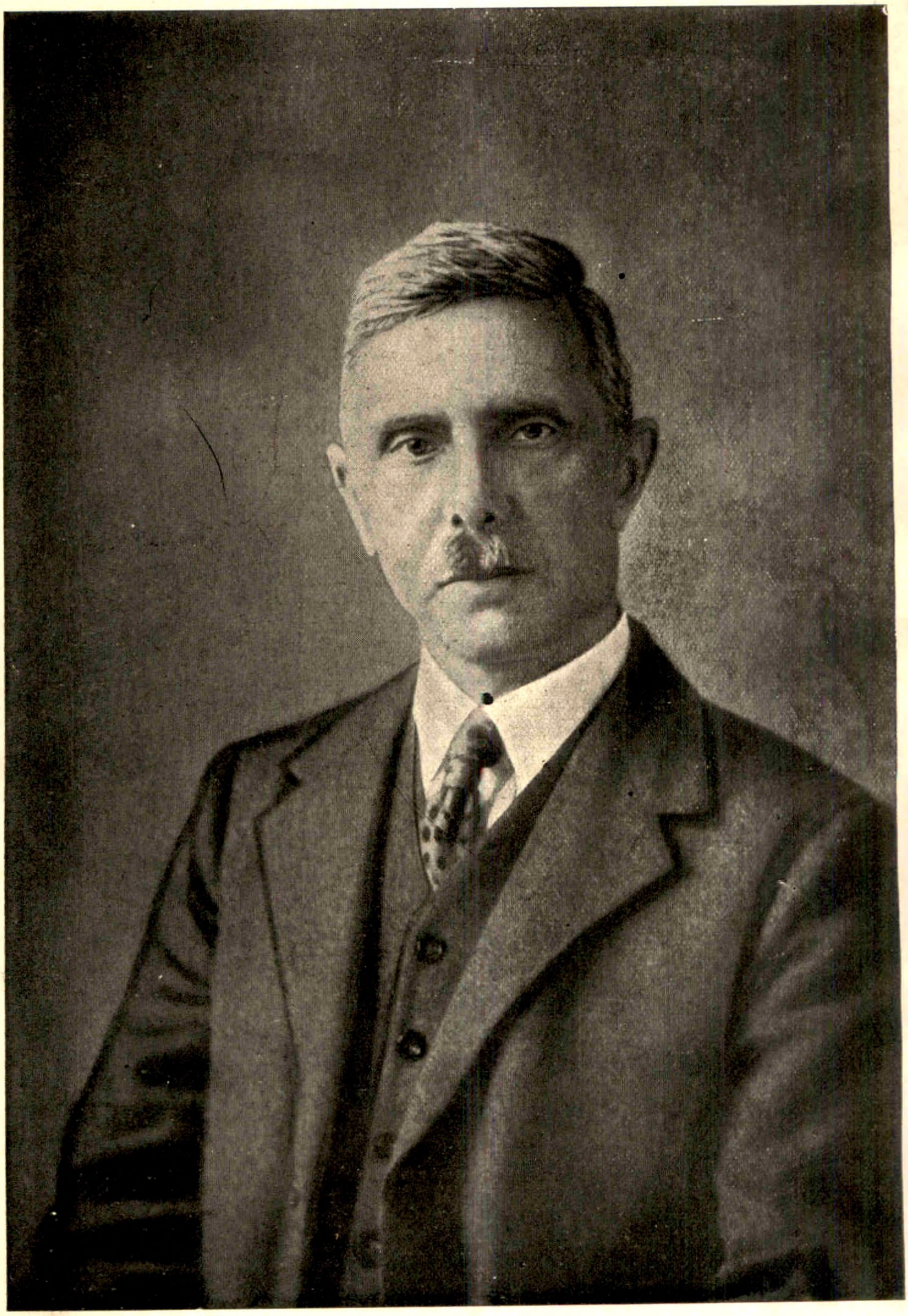
No. F.-88/2/28.—The following further amendments of the Announcements appended to the Indian Civil Service Probationers' Regulations published with the Home Department Notification No. F.-416-127-Ests., dated the 24th October 1927, are published for general information :—

1, No (*iii*) has been cancelled and Nos. (*iv*) and (*v*) renumbered (*iii*) and (*iv*) respectively.

2. The following has been inserted as new No. (v) :—

"A First Class passage to India will be engaged for selected candidates with a view to their proceeding to India after they have signed their covenants."

H. G. Haig,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.



OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1928

BRITAIN SETS AN EXAMPLE

(*A Vital Industrial Conference.*)

If there is one thing more important to Britons all the world over than Empire unity and development it is industrial peace and co-operation. The experiment, then, which is now being tried out in England and which promises to yield such a tremendous success, is of vital interest to every member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We refer, of course, to the conference between a representative group of employers and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, usually referred to as the Mond Conference. During the past six months the progress of this conference has been closely watched not only in Britain but throughout the world. It has recently issued its first joint report, a document which has been hailed on all sides as a landmark in British Industrial history.

To understand the vital nature of the Report we must first know something of the history of the conference itself. It is idle to deny that during the years following the war there was a spirit of unrest and obstruction in British industry. This culminated in the folly of the General Strike and coal dispute of 1926, which, disastrous though it proved, had at least the one good effect of clearing the air and opening the way to a better state of affairs. Since then there has been an infinitely better spirit abroad. This is proved not only by the speeches of prominent employers and trade union leaders but by actual experience in the works and factories themselves.

It was to reap the full benefits of this new spirit that Sir Alfred Mond, now Lord Melchett, took the courageous step of inviting a group of representative employers and the Council of the Trades Union Congress to meet in conference. He did this because there was no single existing organisation of employers which could take the initiative in inviting discussions to cover the entire field of industrial reorganisation and industrial relations. Lord Melchett is the head of the great Imperial Chemical Combine.

The conference is not primarily a " peace " conference, as many people think. Much of its initial popularity may have been due to the fond hope that it would by some magic process produce peace and goodwill from nowhere, and instil them into the ranks of industry, but the intelligent men on both sides who attended the conference did not go there to do spectacular conjuring tricks. They went there to help to formulate a definite policy for the future of British industry:

The official title of the conference is " The Conference on Industrial Reorganisation and Industrial Relations." The whole field of modern industry is its province. Its importance is further emphasised by the fact that over £1,000,000,000 of capital and over 4,000,000 workers are represented at the joint sittings.

We are now in a position to understand how epoch-making are the provisions of the Report issued after six months' hard work and hard thought in hammering out and seeking an agreement upon the mutual and pressing problem of industry. They represent in short a scientific attempt to solve problems which have hitherto been left to those joint incompetents, muddle and drift.

There is no exaggeration in calling the Report an historical document. If accepted and put into operation, as it should and will be, it will represent a new charter for British industry, a new hope and the dawn of a new era. In any case it will stand permanently as a guide and precedent for all future investigation in the same field.

The keystone of the edifice is the proposed setting up of a National Industrial Council which will hold quarterly meetings and will appoint a standing joint committee for consultation on the widest questions of industry and industrial progress.

This proposal is of first-rate moment because the Council will be the legitimate child born within industry itself and not the bastard offspring of political interference.

From the idea of this Council comes the second important resolution dealing with conciliation machinery in case of disputes. The machinery will take the form of Joint Conciliation Boards on a totally voluntary basis. The advantage of these Boards is that they will enable disputes to be thoroughly and impartially discussed before any appeal is made to force in the shape of strike or lock-out. Above all they will tend to make public opinion the true and natural arbiter in such disputes.

The question of disputes, however, is not the main problem of the conference, but rather the whole field of industrial efficiency. Other resolutions, therefore, deal with trade union recognition, victimisation, and that scientific trend of modern business which is now known as "rationalisation."

A clear lead and an impartial judgment is given on all these questions, and the proposals are the biggest step forward yet made to a solution of these thorny problems. On rationalisation the conference endorses the resolution of the World Economic Conference at Geneva which aims at securing that manufacturers, workers and consumers shall all gain the maximum benefit and suffer the minimum disadvantage from the inevitable growth of a more and more highly scientific and highly systematised industry.

It requires little imagination to grasp the great importance of this new move in industry. As has been said, the root of the whole scheme is the setting up of the National Industrial Council—a sort of Parliament of industry—and the broad basis is the full and authoritative recognition of trade unionism as a helpful factor in modern business organisation.

A new machinery is thus created for the whole of British industrial relations. The National Industrial Council will be equally drawn from the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and from the appropriate employers' associations. It will constitute a permanent and direct machinery for continuous investigation into the widest questions concerning industry and industrial progress. The Joint Conciliation Boards will constitute an emergency machinery for dealing specifically with disputes. They will in no way replace or supersede existing machinery, and they are purely voluntary, because, after long discussion, the element of compulsion was found neither acceptable nor desirable.

Some will think that the most important point of the whole Report is that for the first time trade unionism is recognised officially and uncategorically as an integral and useful part of modern industrial organisation. This means that in the highly scientific, thoroughly " rationalised " industry of the future, the trade unions, far from being eliminated or weakened, will have a definite recognised function, and will, by being more systematised, gain an added strength.

In this new development Britain has set an example not merely to every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations but to the whole world. Although industrial peace is not the sole and primary aim of the conference, yet we now have the biggest contribution to that ideal which has been made for a century. Our friends have cause for gratification and relief, our enemies for regret, denunciation and further venom.

British industry is undergoing a tremendous process of transition. All the old ideas of fierce competition, of trade wars, of masters as opposed to men, of owners as opposed to wage-earners, of strikes and lock-outs as effective weapons, are in a state of violent flux and change. Something new is emerging, something more scientific and yet, at the same time, more humane and more democratic. So far, only the broad outline of the new order of things is discernible : the details have still to be crystallised out, resolved and made clear.

It is the function of the conference to assist in this process from the amorphous and chaotic to the orderly and definite. It is in fact not an inquest on industrial strife, but an inquiry into industrial co-operation.

Such an inquiry involves deep research, information on scores of subjects, the compilation of statistics, and the general scientific organisation of the whole investigation. Consider a few of the points on the agenda of the conference. These include the costs of production, the effects of rationalisation, the general scientific organisation of industry ; the exact position and responsibilities of the three partners in industry—labour, management and capital ; labour's share in the profits and losses of industry, trade union restrictions and the general question of artificial restriction of output, piecework, profit-sharing and payment by results ; unemployment and the migration and mobility of labour. They include also scores of other questions from foreign competition and world trade aspects to such domestic details as housing, pensions and sickness insurance, and the arbitration machinery.

Obviously the function of the conference is not to dictate but to indicate. It is earnestly to be hoped that its indications will be ratified firmly by the employers' associations and by the trade unions in due course. The signs are that they will. Otherwise indeed a wonderful chance for the benefit of all engaged in industry will be missed. The work of the conference will carry on. The interim report, significant as it is, but touches a few of the many and vital problems still needing solution.

National conferences on industry are of course no new thing, but previously they have suffered from several defects. In the first place they have been due to government action and interference, a primary and fatal defect ; in the second, they have been too general and airy in scope, avoiding concrete and essential details ; in the third, they have been called in times of industrial stress under direct menace of deadlock and strife, and, in the last place, they have not sufficiently considered the new and changed industrial conditions which must, in fact, be recognised as something in the nature of a revolution, a revolution of science and not of politics.

The whole key to the present conference is knowledge,—knowledge of the new scientific organisation of industry. It is in effect an attempt to show the newly-educated masses of the workers how to take their part in and make fullest use of that education for the strengthening and advancement of national and imperial industry.

Not merely Britain but the whole Empire must hope that this new mission will end in something more than the eyewash and smoke which the lime-lit extremists predict.

A. E. TOMLINSON

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL POLICY

At the session which it held towards the end of June, the Economic Committee decided to address to the Council a report which constitutes a general statement of its doctrine as regards commercial policy, a doctrine which has deen drawn up in accordance with the conclusions of the International Economic Conference of May, 1927.

This statement is in three parts, the first dealing with tariff systems and treaty-making methods, the second with the most-favoured-nation treatment and the third concerning collective action with a view to tariff reduction.

PART I.

In the first part, the Committee unanimously recognises that no new tariffs should be instituted nor existing tariffs reorganised without taking account of the effect which the rates or methods of application of these tariffs may have on international trade. However the various States may desire to adapt independently their tariffs to their financial or economic requirements, the Committee considers that they should, nevertheless, not establish them without considering what obstacles they may constitute for international trade. But whereas certain of the members considered that the procedure for this purpose should be that of negotiations with a view to an exchange of tariff guarantees, others maintained that tariff treaties were incompatible with the theory and practice of certain States which claimed the right to make their laws as they wished in this respect, subject to the condition that these laws should be applied without discrimination prejudicial to the interests of any country.

Those members of the Committee who expressed themselves in favour of systems which alone afford the general possibility of negotiating as regards the rates of customs tariffs, propose that States adopting such systems should henceforth consent to negotiate prior to the putting into force of the tariffs and should undertake to revise the rates after negotiation so as to bring them into harmony with the reductions agreed upon by treaty.

The Committee is, nevertheless, of the opinion that the system of unalterable tariffs cannot be considered as contrary to the resolutions of the International Economic Conference so long as tariffs are established with moderation, as is the case for certain countries. This incompatibility would only exist in cases where tariffs which constitute an insurmountable obstacle for foreign trade are established by States which refuse to contemplate reduction by negotiation or which impose constantly varying tariffs upon the trade of other States.

Without taking a decision as regards the principle of unalterable tariffs, the Committee nevertheless considered that States applying this system should be prepared to examine the possible claims of other States and that they should, as far as they considered possible, establish their tariffs for fairly long periods.

The Committee also dwelt with the question of bargaining tariffs, that is to say, autonomous tariffs which may be reduced by treaty, or double column tariffs, which do not exclude adaptation by treaty.

In this connection it unanimously recommended measures which may be stated as follows: Reduction of the margin of negotiation, negotiations prior to the application of tariffs, far-reaching consolidation of tariffs and the conclusion of long-term agreements, the avoidance of constant modifications of a tariff which has formed the basis of a statute established as a result of negotiation.

PART II.

In the second part the Report states that the different ideas as regards the tariffs and treaty-making methods seem in general bound up with varying ideas of the most-favoured-nation treatment. Whereas certain States which refuse to negotiate with regard to tariffs claim the most-favoured-nation treatment as a preliminary condition for any treaty and as a right which cannot be discussed, other States which have established their tariffs with a view to negotiation and which attach more value to tariff conventions than to the legal guarantee constituted by the most-favoured-nation clause, when accompanied by tariff advantages, consider that the grant of this clause depends upon agreement as regards tariffs.

The Committee considered that the Economic Conference of 1927, had not accepted the idea that equality of treatment was an incontestable right, but it nevertheless could not fail to recognise that the Conference had definitely expressed itself in favour of the reciprocal granting of the most-favoured-nation treatment, of the greatest possible extension of its scope and of an extremely liberal practice as regards its application.

On this subject, as on that of tariff and treaty-making systems, the Committee expressed itself in favour of a compromise rather than a choice between the conflicting theories. It noted that it might be possible to reach unanimity on the principle that most-favoured-nation treatment should be the normal system and that the refusal of this guarantee or the institution of a differential system should only take place when States refuse to pursue an equitable tariff policy or resort to discriminatory practices.

The Committee also dealt with exceptions to the most-favoured-nation clause and the report sets forth its conclusions as regards customs unions, the establishment of a preferential, colonial or imperial tariff, the preferential system between States with national, historical or geographical bonds, and the special case of trade between frontier zones.

The report further describes the position as regards certain studies which are not yet terminated and which will continue on the following questions : the drafting of the clause, reprisals in the event of certain exceptions considered as illegal, certain exceptions as regards the obligations resulting from the clause and the effect of the most-favoured-nation clause in bilateral treaties upon multi-lateral treaties.

PART III.

The third part of the Report draws attention to the fact that the resolutions of the Economic Conference laid stress upon the necessity of bringing about a reduction of tariffs, not only by bi-lateral agreements but also by the collective action of States. Various systems were contemplated for the gradual reduction of all tariffs by a definite percentage.

During the discussion it nevertheless became clear that the time was not yet ripe for a general reduction of tariffs and the Committee felt that it would be preferable first to study specific cases and to test the value of the methods and systems put forward.

Noting the results of the Conference on hides and bones, the Committee recognised that for the settlement of certain questions, different methods had been selected and sometimes combined. It considered that the recommendation of the International Economic Conference for concerted action of States with a view to a general and simultaneous reduction of customs tariffs should not be lost sight of, but that it was indispensable to advance gradually so as to secure as a result of well conducted experiments the gradual adherence of the nations to a general system of tariff reduction.

The Committee accordingly selected a number of key-industrial products and also certain foodstuffs in regard to which it will undertake, in collaboration with the Sub-Committee on Customs Nomenclature, preliminary investigations with a view to a study of a concerted reduction of tariffs. These enquiries will take place with the assistance of the Secretariat, and for each product will be conducted by a special *rapporteur*.

The products selected are aluminium, semi-manufactured iron products, cement, leather, log and sawn wood, cellulose and paper, fresh fruits and vegetables and rice.

Received by the Editor from
SOCIETE DES NATIONS, Section d' Information, GENEVE.
(League of Nations, Information Section, Geneva.)

TRUTH IN HEART

(*From the Bengalee of Ram Mohan Roy.*)

I grant most beautiful thou art
And wealth untold thy household's part.
No limits can thy kingdom bind.
Now this reflection take to mind—
O, what shall follow then in death?
All shalt thou lose when losing breath.
Then lend thou ear to what I say—
Be free of pride and falsehood's sway,
Embrace dispassion with thy mind
And Truth supreme let heart thine find!

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

The long expected and the much talked of Royal Commission has been appointed with a flourish of trumpets "to enquire into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institution in British India and matters connected therewith" and the Commission shall report "as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of Second Chamber of the local Legislature is or is not desirable."

Much ink and paper has been wasted over the question of the personnel of the Commission which has been purely Parliamentary and British in character. People who have never stood on the same political platform have joined in a chorus of protest against the Parliamentary Commission, of course on very different grounds. The non-co-operators would have nothing to do with it as a part of their religion of "hands off," the Swarajists would have nothing to do with it as it is based on the principle of denying the people of India their birthright of self-determination or to quote one prominent Swarajist leader who has made the position quite clear in the following words:—"Ever since the Government of India Act of 1919 passed into the Statute Book of the British Parliament, the people of India have constantly repudiated the principle enunciated in the preamble of that enactment, namely that it should be for the British Parliament to determine 'the time and manner' of each step that India should be permitted to take on the road of 'the progressive realisation of responsible government.'*** Two things we desire to make clear. Firstly, our objection to the

Commission is in no sense technical, we adhere to the principle that it is for the people of India to frame India's constitution.*** Secondly, *the appointment of a few Indians on the Commission would not have made it more acceptable to Nationalist India.*" From this attitude of Nationalist India we pass on by slow steps to those whose objections are based on personal grounds and who can be pacified by the simple inclusion of one or two of their own ilk.

On the other hand, the Home Government has sought to justify the personnel on the ground of securing impartiality and unanimity which would not be possible if Indians were included in the Commission.

While much may be said on both sides of the question we think it is only a minor issue, not deserving a fraction of the importance it has acquired. The main issues in connection with the problem of self-government of India have been allowed to drop out of sight in the smoke of controversy it has raised. It is time for both the children of the soil as well as the foreign rulers to pause and think what is the real nature of the ailment in body politic, the exact spot where the shoe really pinches. To frame a constitution for a population of three hundred million souls, of diverse races and religions, speaking a medley of tongues, at different stages of culture, with traditions often antagonistic in character—is no easy task. It requires years of patient study and close contact with the people, together with a sympathetic and unbiassed attitude and mutual co-operation which are hardly possible between those placed in the relationship of rulers and the ruled. His Majesty's Government in the famous declaration of August 1917 has distinctly accepted the policy of putting India on the path of self-government but they have started at the wrong end. Let us assume for the moment the sincerity of purpose of the British people. Assuming that, we cannot escape the conclusion that they have acted hastily ; they committed an error of judgment, in thinking that a little dilution of the hierarchical form of government with the rudiments of popular responsibility will satisfy the people of India. They have fixed their attention more on the machinery of the government than on the psychology of the people. So they inaugurated the Reforms in an atmosphere of rancour and bitterness, jealousy and mutual distrust, and carried it on in the face of opposition of a considerable and important section of politically-minded India, consoling themselves all the while that it was a passing phase.

The installation of the Reforms Commission is also a logical continuation of the same policy. Whether the discontent or opposition be reasonable or not—and that is a matter of opinion—the fact is patent that the Commission is being thrust on the people of India as an unwelcome guest. The Commission may go on in its work, obtain its data in Himalayan indifference to the apathy and antagonism of the Indian people and in due time submit its report to the British Parliament which may in turn pass another Act based on it, expanding or contracting the extent of " self-government " already granted to India, and so far as legal forms go it may pass as the constitution of India. But would it, we may ask, bring peace and content to the people of India? Would it touch even the fringe of the many acute problems in the social and political life of India which it is the avowed object of His Majesty's Government to achieve ? The Reforms were set in operation under evil auspices, even if we admit for the moment that it was a step in the right direction and taken after full and careful study of the Indian situation,—which it would of course be too rash to admit. All parties at Home or in India agree tacitly or implicitly that it has been a failure or at least has not achieved the degree of success it was expected to do. Englishmen and Anglo-Indians would perhaps reply that it has not been given a fair trial ; but it is simply begging the question,—why has it been denied fair trial, pray ?

The British Government, the Anglo-Indian community, the Civil Service and, for the matter of that, a section of Indian people have not been sparing in their efforts to make it a success on a point of " zid " ; yet why has it looked like an exotic growth, sapless and moribund, dragging on its existence somehow by the external impulse of a mighty foreign Government ?

Simply because it has not its roots deep in the undercurrents of Indian life : it has no response from the soul of India : it is like a plant engrafted on a foreign body and therefore withering away from lack of organic connection with the main trunk. What the Simon Commission has been enjoined by the terms of reference to do is simply to enquire into the nature of working or growth of the plant that has been foisted on the trunk of Indian life or, to put it shortly, to whip a dead horse so as to make it run at any cost. We make bold to say no Commission on earth, however well-intentioned or sympathetic to Indian aspirations it may be, can render any service to India if it be bound by the terms of reference which have been laid down by His Majesty's Government. Many and most intricate are the problems awaiting solution which must be thoroughly investigated with a sympathetic and unbiassed frame of mind before remedies can be prescribed for the many ills that the Indian body politic is a prey to. We do not care the least for the personnel of the Commission provided it has a sincerity of purpose,—let it be a Gandhi Commission or a Nehru Commission or a Jinnah Commission or a Jayakar Commission or even an O'Dwyer Commission—the problems that lie before it are the same. We do not propose to frame a draft constitution for India, for that is not so important as a thorough and impartial study of the political outlook of India and (we) propose to discuss in outlines some of the more important problems that face a Commission intent on reorganising the constitutional and administrative machinery of India.

The first and foremost problem before any Reforms Commission both in point of priority as well as importance is to know the mind of India. At this point the question might be raised whether India has got a mind to speak out. That is of course a debatable point on which no final answer can be given and the answer will depend on our conception of nation and national mind. The mere fact of internal discord or diversities in race, language, culture, traditions, etc., does not necessarily imply the absence of that unity which nationality and national mind postulate. At the time divided counsels may prevail, there may be discord and disunity and India may not give out her demands with one voice ; but there is no denying the fact that the heterogeneous people of India have become conscious of a unity amidst diversity—at least they have come to realise that in the realisation of this unity lies their salvation, although certain extraneous factors stand in its way just now. If we carefully study the history of India under British rule we shall find that it is the history of a people trying to realise their unity, to assert themselves as a nation.

The reactionaries at Home point out that the teeming millions of India have no political aspirations of their own, they are quite satisfied with their lot; but that is a positive and flagrant distortion of truth actuated by self-interested motives. Of course, illiterate and uneducated as they are, they are not as a class vocal,—they cannot definitely formulate their aspirations—but one who runs may see that they are not satisfied with the present form of government; it is clearly indicated by the readiness with which they responded to the call of the Swadeshi movement or the non-co-operation movement and the occasional hartals. Even the worst types of reactionaries realise in their heart of-hearts, if they do not give out in so many words, that the non-co-operation movement, however it may have been a failure otherwise, has undermined the prestige of the Government in the mass mind of India and it is this psychological element of confidence in the government on which ordered government rests everywhere in the world. The die-hard politicians would retort that it is the 'agitators' who work them up into fury, but that is again begging the question—why do the agitators find them so easy a prey unless they have some real grievances? May be they do not understand the issues, they blindly follow the leaders without judging the *pros* and *cons*—and this is the case more or less everywhere in the world that many are led by the few,—yet that does not alter our position that they are not quite contented with their lot,—they want some change which they cannot definitely formulate.

But if the masses do not know their own mind, the situation is no more satisfactory among the intelligentsia. Different sections of politically minded people of India think differently on their political salvation. They are not only at variance as regards their ultimate aim but also as regards the means to that end. Thus the most radical section is in favour of complete independence; another section is in favour of *swaraj* either within or without the Empire; others are in favour of immediate Dominion status; others again in favour of responsible government by stages. The *modus operandi* also differ from one pole to another : violence, non-violent non-co-operation, responsive co-operation, constitutional agitation and co-operation at any cost. No one scheme has been presented up to this day formulating the constitutional demands of the people which has got the seal of approbation of all sections of political thought in the country. At the same time they are all more or less agreed that the present system of government must go and make place for a *swaraj* government; the difficulty lies in defining *swaraj* in such a way as to meet the aspirations of all sections. This is the greatest problem of Indian Constitutional Reform. The task is almost superhuman and to be successful the Commission of Enquiry must start with a frame of mind free from all bias and full of genuine sympathy for the aspirations of all classes and interests in India. They must go to the masses as well as classes, sound their mind, work out a scheme which may be acceptable to all and also lay the basis of a united India. Only if they approach the people in this spirit can they bridge the gulf that separates Indians from their rulers and dispel the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion that stands in the way of investigation of any Reforms Commission. We need not anticipate the conclusion that a Commission starting in its investigations with the problem "What India really wants" may reach, but from facts at our disposal, at least judging from appearances, we may venture a guess of our own. To our mind the only solution of the problem consistent with sound statesmanship, practical expediency, as well as satisfaction of Indian aspirations, is the immediate grant of full Dominion status with all its implications as elucidated at the last Imperial Conference. The Inter-Imperial Relations Committee defined the *status* of self-governing units of the British Empire as "autonomous community within the British Empire equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the *British Commonwealth of Nations.*" They are to be bound by ties of free co-operation under the Crown which would serve as the golden link for the whole Empire. Of course *equality of status does not involve equality of functions*.[1]

Practically all shades of Indian political opinion, excepting one radical section consisting of a few hotheads who demand complete independence, have explicitly or implicitly declared in favour of Dominion status. What the nationalists quarrel about at present is not what is likely to be the finding of the Commission but the spirit of the British Government appointing the Commission– that excess of zeal for the assertion of the sovereignty of Parliament,—a fruit of the original sin embodied in the preamble of the Government of India Act—which has found vent even in the speech of the Viceroy, couched though it is in the mildest and most restrained terms. "There are of course some," the Viceroy observed, "who would wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be the tribunal in this cause, but as I have said more than once, however much I may respect many of those who take this view, *I do not pretend to be able to reconcile it with the actual situation which we to-day have to consider* " (meaning of course the sovereignty of British Parliament over India) ******. He further points out, " The good will (of Parliament) would naturally be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament towards these questions.****And yet it is certain that agitation fostered and promoted by methods which have led to grave occurrences in the past is bound to breed serious misgivings in the *mind of the British Parliament with whom at present lies the final decision in Indian political affairs.*" The Viceroy thrusts his finger into the eyes of the Indian politicians, as it were, and says, " The British Parliament is your sovereign lord ; you must sit with folded hands at its feet in the attitude of supplication and must accept whatever the Parliament in its benignity thinks proper to give you." That is the attitude that Indian politicians strongly deprecate, that fostered the movement for " Hands off."

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[1] For other recommendations of the Committee, see Round Table, March, 1926.

No one denies the fact of sovereignty of Parliament because Sovereignty is after all a question of force and force is on the side of the British people; but howthat shuts the door to a round-table conference between its representatives and representatives of India on equal terms passes our comprehension. India would be satisfied with far less concessions that such a free conference decides upon than what a Commission, based on the negation of India's moral right to be a party to the working out of her own destiny, may think fit to concede. However we have assumed that our Commission would be of the type of a free conference suggested above enjoying the confidence of all schools of thought in India and let us further assume that it arrives at the conclusion that what India wants is Dominion status. Let us examine what other problems will immediately face the Commission in its wake.

The next fundamental question before the Commission would be whether democracy is suited to Indian conditions at all and if so what form of democracy is likely to thrive in Indian soil, *i.e.*, whether the form that it has taken in Western countries is likely to succeed in India also or should it be modified to some extent in the light of India's past history and traditions. We must test the capacity of the soil to bear the superstructure raised. Evidences are conflicting on this point; many scholars are of opinion that democratic institutions never flourished in Indian soil, while many Indian scholars and foreign indologists have proved by their research that the idea of democracy is not foreign to India—that both in central and in local government democratic institutions, such as *gana, puga, sabha, sangha* and latterly *panchayets*, etc., thrived quite strong in ancient India. However that may be, the burden of evidence points to the fact that in ancient India government was highly centralised revolving round one central figure—the king—but not undiluted with democratic institutions. It would be as much a mistake to say that the idea of democracy was quite foreign to India as to say that government was essentially democratic in character ; but there is no denying the fact that the spirit of democracy was feeble in the Indian social system, highly hierarchical in character as it was. But we need not rest our argument for or against democracy solely on the ground that society or government in ancient India was democratic or undemocratic, although in order to go to the root of the problem this should not escape our notice altogether; but we should mainly build on our present materials. The impact of western civilisation has wrought a revolution in the realm of thought and ideals of the Indian people, which has reacted on their social and political outlook. The question before the Commission would be whether Western ideals have so far saturated Indian life as to prepare the ground for the successful operation of democratic institutions of the West or whether India still retains some characteristics of her own which demand a synthesis of Eastern and Western ideals and therefore a modification of the institutions as they obtain in the West.

By far the most outstanding and complex issue before the Commission is what may be compressed in one phrase,—" Social Problem." Much capital is recently being made by those who are apathetic to India's political aspirations out of one phase of this problem, *viz.*, Hindu-Moslem dissensions. We are moreover reminded in season and out of season that Swaraj is an idle dream so long as India is divided into diverse sects and communities. But no serious student of history would broach the proposition to-day that national self-government is impracticable of attainment where religious, communal or sectarian dissensions prevail. Far be it from us to minimise the gravity of the problem or to deny its existence; on the contrary, we quite appreciate that it is the greatest of all problems facing a serious student of Indian politics; but at the same time we do not think that the ideal of national self-government or Swaraj is quite incompatible with such diversity. India is *par excellence* a land of many communities and interests. Now, no nation is so completely homogeneous as to be composed of one single community; so far India's position is not something peculiar. But while in other countries people think the nation a higher entity than the community and sacrifice the interests of the community at the altar of the nation, unfortunately for India, people here are much too obsessed with exclusive group-consciousness to look beyond the interests of the community to the larger interests of the nation. It is only when the different communities would come to think of the nation first and community next or merge their communal consciousness in national self-consciousness—and the two are by no means incompatible as is borne out by instances abroad, *e.g.*, in U.S.A., Canada, Ireland, etc.,—that Indian nationhood would become a reality. As it is, the different communities, the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Parsees and the "depressed classes" are haunted by a lurking suspicion in their mind as to their position under the scheme of Swaraj and want guarantees for the protection of their " special " interests against the aggression of the majority community in each area in the shape of communal electorates, reservation of seats, representation on proportional basis in the services, etc. The Government's policy has been so far to concede these special concessions to the minority groups and specially to the biggest minority, *viz.*, the Muslims, whether out of an honest motive for the protection of their interests or only in pursuance of a policy of 'divide and rule' Providence alone can tell. But whatever be the motive behind it, that the policy is erroneous in theory and dangerous in practice has been amply illustrated by the experience of the last few years. Instead of pacifying the minority communities it has simply raised their expectations to preposterous heights, helped to enliven their communal consciousness at the cost of the national sentiment, reduced politics to mere intrigue and job-hunting and finally broadened the gulf between the different communities a thousand times more instead of bridging it over. All serious students of Indian politics of whatever camp, if only not obsessed with class consciousness, have realised the dangerous possibilities of this policy. Even Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford were not blind to these facts and recommended communal electorates under force of circumstances only as a temporary expedient to be superseded by joint electorates as soon as feelings in the country took a better turn. It would not be inappropriate to quote some passages from the report. "We conclude unhesitatingly," they say, "that the history of self-government among nations is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance, against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself.***Divisions by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisan and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

"A minority which is given a special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security, it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear or to the other to exert itself. The communal system stereotypes existing relations.'' But inspite of these strong objections they were forced to create communal electorates for fear of going back on the pledge given by Lord Minto to the Muhammadans ; and once the vicious circle has been started it shows signs of perpetuating itself. As Lord Meston has pointed out in a recent article, '' That members of a legislature should occupy seats assigned to them by virtue of their religion to which they have been elected by their co-religionists only offends against all democratic theory and yet in practice there has been no escape from it.'' The question of how to reconcile the conflicting claims of communities and interests with a scheme of national self-government will absorb the keenest attention of any Commission of enquiry on Indian constitutional reforms and opinion would differ as to its solution but this much can be said that no Commission, sincerely trying to find a remedy, will prescribe special representation on communal lines. In our opinion, the problem has its root deep in the psychology of the people and can be solved only by a change of heart as between the different communities, by the removal of the spirit of mutual suspicion and jealousy and the growth of a feeling of give-and-take on which alone a strong civic sense can develop. When Hindus can safely entrust their interests to Muslims and *vice versa*, then and then only will Swaraj be something real and living. This cannot be attained by artificial means such as special representation or reservation of seats in legislature or the services or, for the matter of that, by unity conferences or pacts.. If anything can prove useful in that direction, it is the spread of education and propaganda by a band of sincere men imbued with a spirit of service to the motherland. But the question may be raised, how are we to square with facts as they are till the ideal condition is reached? It is very difficult to give a satisfactory answer to it; the only thing that can be said is that the case for the different communities requires different treatment. As regards the smaller communities such as the Sikhs, Parsees, Indian Christians, etc., no provision should be made for separate representation; they would best rely on the fair sense of the legislators for the representation of their interests. There is no reason why if suitable candidates be forthcoming from amongst them, they should not be elected from a general constituency. As regards the depressed classes, the rapid change in social outlook of the Hindu community which has found expression in the resolutions adopted in the successive sessions of the All-India Social Conference regarding removal of untouchability, interdining, intermarriage, etc., and a general desire on the part of the intelligentsia to claim them as their weaker brothers and to ameliorate their social, intellectual and moral conditions, is taking the sting off the charge that their interests would be ignored at the hands of the Hindu intellectuals who look down upon them. As regards the European and Anglo-Indian communities it passes our comprehension how they can lay claim to any sort of special representation in the national legislatures of India, as they have no stake in the country and by no stretch of imagination can their interests ever be made identical with the national interests of India. Their only connection with the country is of an economic character and opportunities may be provided for representation of their economic interests through the special constituencies, such as Trades Association, Chamber of Commerce, etc. Of course I do not mean to say that the Indian legislators should not take into account their point of view when legislating but for that they may depend on the fair sense of the legislators of whatever community they may be.

As regards the biggest minority group in India, *viz.*, the

Moslems, the question raises many complications which it is not possible to discuss fully within this short paper; but we may state that, pending the ideal condition of complete fusion of the political interests of all communities, there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for Moslems on the basis of population.

From this intricate and complex problem of minority groups we may pass on to another question of importance very much akin in character, *viz.*, the position of the Civil Service. Irresponsible and bureaucratic type of government depends for its success mainly on a trained and efficient band of public servants in the absence of an ever-watchful public opinion. So has it been the case with the Indian Government in the past. In democratic countries there is an organised and vigilant public opinion which brings the administration to account for the least dereliction of duty. This serves to root out abuses in the system and prevents it from falling into soulless routine and red-tape. In India, in the absence of representative institutions and popular control, the public services have grown into a rigid hierarchy with a class consciousness. To give the devil its due, the public services, especially the Indian Civil Service, have been noted for their efficiency in administration though not free from the vices of bureaucratic government, but for that the system is to blame. Indeed such tributes as have been paid by British statesmen such as Lloyd George when he said that "it is the steel frame of Indian government" or Montague and Chelmsford when they described it as "the parent and the mainstay of the existing system"—although liable to misinterpretation—are not altogether unmerited.

Now the problem is how to reconcile the vested interests of the services, specially the European element in it, with the scheme of responsible government under popular control, and the rising Indian aspirations which have found one of its outlets in an increasing demand for the Indianisation of the services. The problem was sidetracked for a time by the Montague-

Chelmsford Reforms which, while accepting the principle of increasing association of Indians in the services as an integral part of the scheme of gradual realisation of responsible government, provided at the same time for the retention of a considerable European element for an indefinite time, creating special rights, privileges and immunities for the protection of their interests. The situation has been far from satisfactory—either to the services or to the people. The idea of serving under Indian ministers has not from the beginning been very palatable for the services, accustomed as they have been not to brook any sort of popular control. So they have been more and more clamorous for better terms and conditions of service as a compensation which the die-hards at home have only been too ready to concede and which Indian opinion has bitterly resented till a veritable class-jealousy has developed against the order, which is far from beneficial to sound administration. Then, again, Indian ministers have been put in a very anomalous position of working with subordinates who are not under their disciplinary control. Many ministers have complained against this vicious system as an obstacle to their efficient working before the Muddiman Committee. The argument for securing them special rights and privileges and better conditions of service has been that otherwise the right type of Englishmen, whose services will be almost indispensable for piloting the reforms in the initial stages and teaching Indians in the art of self-government would not be available. Even admitting for argument's sake the desirability of retaining some European element in the services which is itself a very debatable question we refuse to believe that Europeans cannot be induced to accept service without these special rights and privileges on conditions which have proved sufficiently alluring for over a century to British youths seeking a career abroad. It is for the Commission to settle the pace of Indianisation of services which is a concomitant of the introduction of popular government and to assign to it a proper place in the constitution.

The next important problem of Indian Constitutional Reform centres round the question of the form of government. It would not do to brush aside the question by quoting the words of the poet,

> "For forms of government let fools contest
> That which is best administered is best."

For India it is a very important question involving many complicated issues. In devising the suitable form of government, we must keep in view above all one consideration, *viz.*, that we must try to build the future as far as possible on the basis of the present condition, with as little shock to the existing structure as possible, consistent with the best interests of the nation. The first thing to determine is whether the national government is to be of Presidential type as in U. S. A., or of Parliamentary type on the model of England and self-governing Dominions. Both considerations of political expediency as well as experience elsewhere in the Empire point to the efficacy of the latter type. First of all, presidential type does not quite well fit in with the scheme of the imperial system. Secondly, the past history and tradition of India is not quite favourable for such division of control as the presidential form of government postulates. Then, again, the existing structure of governmental machinery in India lends itself more easily to conversion into Parliamentary type than to the presidential type with a few changes in name, powers and functions of the existing institutions.

The next question to be settled is the choice between unitary and federal form. This has given rise to great controversy. Of course, the past history of India as well as her geographical situation speak in favour of a strong centralised government, but a great volume of opinion has grown up in India in favour of decentralisation or, what is called in common parlance, provincial autonomy which can be best satisfied by the federal type. Even if we decide in favour of the federal type we are faced with the further questions whether the provinces of India should be left as they are or their boundaries should be redrawn on ethnic and linguistic considerations as has been demanded by the Indian National Congress and also what principle should be followed in the matter of distribution of powers and functions between the central and local governments. Of course these are very big questions, full and detailed treatment of which is impossible within the scope of this paper; but if we are to state our opinion briefly we may say with regard to the first question that it is best to maintain the *status quo* in view of the great practical and administrative difficulties involved in reconstituting the provinces and in view of the fact that already the provinces have developed a local patriotism which it would be best not to disturb and which would make each of them an organic unity both in the management of its internal affairs as well as in relation to the central government. As regards the next question, *viz.,* the principle of distribution of powers we think that the best thing would be to grant the provinces autonomy in the management of purely local matters and certain agency duties on behalf of the central government which should be definitely enumerated and to vest in the central government all the residuary functions with specific enumeration of certain classes of funcions, *viz.*, those concerning the nation as a whole and a general oversight of the local governments. In one word, we advocate federalism of the Canadian type instead of ths Australian. So far as internal administration is concerned, the provincial executive consisting of a Governor with a Cabinet responsible to the provincial legislature, preferably bicameral in character, should be quite free from the control of the central government enjoying a separate purse of its own to draw upon. The central executive should be completely responsible to the central legistature and should be vested with all powers necessary for discharging all its duties in normal times and preserving internal peace and order. As regards defence, for some time to come at least the central government would have to depend on the Home Government but steps should be taken towards the building of a national militia and navy to be controlled by the central government. In common with all other problems affecting imperial interests, in questions of organisation of the army and navy, the central government should act in close collaboration with the Imperial Government in Britain and other parts of the Empire. We have tried only to sketch the outlines of the plan on which governmental powers may be apportioned between the central and local governments which would have to be filled in detail in order to make it a consistent whole.

One other question that arises in this connection which we cannot possibly ignore because of its outstanding importance, is that of financial settlement between the central government and the provinces. The success of federalism depends much on reducing the chances of friction to a minimum and that can be done by assigning to each a purse quite separate and independent of the others,' and at the same time elastic enough to meet the growing needs of each. This is of course a very difficult and delicate task, specially in a country like India where each province has its peculiar fiscal problems. It is not for us to work out the details of a scheme that will satisfy this condition, but we may point out that the present arrangement has been far from happy. We may do no better than quote in this connection the words of the Finance Member of Bengal in his last budget speech and what he has said of Bengal applies more or less to other provinces too. Thus he says, "The Financial Settlement was wrong *ab initio* and treated Bengal most unfairly and that it was largely owing to the shortness of funds that the working of the reformed constitution in Bengal has been so hampered and that ministers have found it so difficult to carry on."

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"Unless a complete revision of the financial system is done I am convinced that all parties in province will be unanimous in thinking that the successful working of the new constitution will be impossible in Bengal, however good that constitution may be in other ways."

Last, but by no means the least, we have to confront another problem very complex and at the same time delicate in character, *viz.*, the position of the native states in the new polity of India.

The problem of native princes is unique to India as compared with other parts of the British Empire, unique alike in its constitutional importance as well as in its many-sided character. We need not go into an historical survey of the different stages through which they have come to occupy their present position consequent on the change in policy of the British Government towards them, beginning from non-intervention in matters beyond its ring-fence to one of union and co-operation on their part with the paramount power. Their present status is not at all uniform, defined as it is by the treaties, engagements and Sanads entered into with the British Government which present endless variety. On the whole the general position may be summed up in the words of the authors of the Montford Report, "The States are guaranteed security from without, the paramount power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other states, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the states' relations to foreign powers are those of a paramount power; they share the obligation for common defence; and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories."

From this we may see that although there are many points of contact between them and the British Indian Government, and although as paramount power the British Indian Government may intervene in their internal administration in case of misrule or gross misconduct, yet their administrative machinery is not organically connected with the administrative system of British India, for inspite of the different stages of development " the characteristic features of all of them are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice." This position can be maintained only as long as there is one common paramount power, *viz.*, His Majesty's Government in Britain both over British India as well as the native states, but the whole position requires a re-examination with the shifting of political centre of gravity from Whitehall to Delhi. Various complicated issues arise at this point. Should the native states stand apart from the reformed Indian constitution or should they become an organic part of the Indian national government ? In the latter alternative how to fit them into the scheme of self-government in India consistent with the treaty stipulations with the Crown, specially in view of their sensitiveness to the least encroachment on what they regard as their close preserve ? Lastly, should they be treated on the same basis or different treatment should be applied in accordance with the variety in size, importance and administrative progress. These are questions of momentous significance which cannot be answered offhand and to which it is not possible to do full justice within the compass of a short paper.

The first position, of course, we may summarily dismiss as absurd on the following grounds. First of all, there are many things of common interest to settle between them and Indian Government such as the problem of defence, customs tariff, post and telegraphs, railways and exchange in which there is a tendency to closer co-operation. Now closer economic union which is inevitable together with complete political dissociation is all but unthinkable. In case of disputes relating to such matters the intervention of the Home Government would be incompatible with the dominion status of India.

The problem is further complicated by their geographical situation. Had they formed one compact block in one corner of India, it would have been possible to keep them apart from the mainland somewhat on the lines of northern Ireland *vis-à-vis* the Irish Free State. As it is, not only geographically but also historically India is a unity. The people of the native states are bound up with the people of India by ties of kinship, language, religion, economic interests, etc. It is not conceivable therefore that momentous constitutional changes in India will leave the native states unaffected—that while their brothers take rapid strides in the path of self-government. the people of the native states will live contented under autocracy no matter whether benevolent or malevolent.

But while we look forward to an Indian federation of which provinces and native states would be self-governing units we do not advocate equal treatment to all of the states. In case of the very small states considerations of administrative expediency dictate their absorption in the provinces in which they are located. The native rulers may be made into landlords with some special privileges and honours as a compensation. As regards the comparatively bigger and more important states a plebiscite should be taken to determine whether they should become parts of the provinces or remain as separate entities with internal autonomy ; for while there are many rulers who are reduced copies of Charles I, rolling in luxury and given to self-indulgence at the cost of the subjects for whose amelioration they do nothing, there are others who do everything in their power for the betterment of their subjects and under whom the subjects are in many respects better off than even people in British India ; it is in the interests of the people of such states as well as of Indian Empire as a whole that the services of such rulers should be utilised.

The states where the people give their verdict in favour of the princes may take their place in the constitutional system on the same basis as the provinces. The princes may be made into hereditary governors with some special privileges and honours assured to them. As regards the others they should be treated in the same way as the smaller princes, their territories being absorbed in the provinces. Much has been made of the sanctity of the treaties and engagements with the Crown but I do not see any earthly reason for making a fetish of them. If the welfare of thousands of people demand a modification or even complete repudiation of the treaties the so-called sanctity of treaty engagements should not stand in the way, for treaties between a sovereign power and its protégé are after all mere scraps of paper.

There is one other point to consider in this connection, *viz.*, the standpoint of the princes when they show their reluctance to cast in their lot with the indigenous government of India. It has been ably put by one Mr. *Rice* in a recent article in Quarterly Review : " The princes are faced by a change not of allegiance for that is to King-Emperor nor of subordinate alliance for that is with the Crown but of the agency by which the existing policy is controlled. There will be a transfer of paramount power from the English government of India to *a body of men whom the princes may well regard as standing on an equality with their own subjects.*" But I am at a loss to make out any point in their objection to control by an Indian government simply on the score of its personnel. Even now that objection should apply, for the present personnel is recruited from the middle class gentry of England who might as well be their subjects. The whole thing is based on misconception. If they have to submit to the control of Indian government the control comes not from the persons who man the administration but from an institution.

Such in outlines are some of the most important problems of Indian Constitutional Reform. We do not pretend that they exhaust the whole list of such problems but our point is that no Commission entrusted with an enquiry into the question of Indian Constitutional Reform can fulfil its mission without thoroughly going into these problems in all their bearings. We have simply mooted the problems and it is quite possible that our analysis of the problems may have been wrong as we are not in possession of sufficient data which the complexity of the problems requires to work upon ; yet they may be useful so far as they go to suggest lines of investigation for students of the Indian political situation.[1]

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

ARMOURED ROSES

Oh rose incarnadined, gracious and proud,
Rising free on your slender stem, lovely
And alluring ; are you glad that thorns must
Pierce the one who snatches you wantonly,
Ere he presses your sweet face to his lips ?
So would I hurt him who loves me, lest he
Think me bold ; so would I pierce his heart with
Tiny thorns of pain made exquisite, and
Then forgotten, when he gathered me at last !
For he who fears the thorns, should never pluck
The rose, while he who sees them not, nor cares,
Must win more worthily, knowing the rose
More sweet that she protects her beauty from
The rough touch of the undeserving one.

LILY S. ANDERSON

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[1] A paper read at a meeting of the Dacca University Economic Association on the 25th February, 1928.

ROBERT BURNS

SCOTLAND'S PLOUGHMAN POET

Those of us who have been fortunate enough to come into contact with the writings of Robert Burns can testify without hestitation to his undoubted genius. Each of his poems shines with the polish of lyrical perfection. When we read his sad poems we are sad with him, when we look at his lighter works, our hearts bound with the joy and merriment that was once the poet's own delight. He was born to very poor parents in the year 1759 at Kyle in the county of Ayre. As soon as was possible Robert was put to work on a farm until in early youth we find him wielding the plough with the dexterity of a man, and working hard from morn till night thrashing and preparing corn and seed for sale. But for his father Robert might never have been the great man he grew to be in after years ; his father rigidly believed in education, and worked until he was able to send Robert to a small school at Alloway Miln, where the poet excelled himself in every subject,—in reading, writing and arithmetic—and took rank above several who were his seniors. It was at Mossgiel that Robert first became known in the neighbourhood as a maker of rhymes. An excellent farmer though he was (for few could equal him) it will be seen that the man who stops to write verses on the frisking of his sheep when he should be driving them to pasture—who pauses to write an ode about the horse he should be saddling—and who lingers to write a ballad on his prettiest reaper, can have but little chance of ever becoming a successful farmer. And this was the case with Robert Burns ; whilst labour held his body, poetry held his soul, and was slowly but very surely obtaining a grip on his very life, changing him hourly and daily into that dreamer and idealist Nature intended him to be. Various subjects first awaken the poetic Muse in men who afterwards become poets. With Robert it was Love that first stirred him to the depths of his soul. He jotted down, in a little note-book, lines in praise of a fair-haired girl, a partner in the stubble-field, and from whose delicate white hands he used to extract the thistle stings. Very few of the earlier poems of Robert Burns have been preserved, but here is one of them, and one which showed promise even then:—

I dreamed I lay where flowers were springing,
Gaily in the sunny beam,
Listening to the wild birds singing
By a falling crystal stream.
Straight the sky grew black and daring
Thro' the woods the wild winds rave,
Trees, with aged arms, are warring,
O'er the swelling drumlie wave.

Thereafter, every girl Robert met who pleased his eye he would assail with verse, in an endeavour to win her over. But ladies are not very apt to be won by verse, be it ever so elegant; for to them the person who so adorns them with the roses and lilies of his imagination is only a dreamer, and they look round for more substantial comfort. Waller's lavish praise only served to draw forth smiles from Sacharissa, whilst another beautiful lady saw in Lord Byron only a pale-faced lad, and lame of foot at that, and married a man, who, though lacking in poetical merit could leap a five-barred gate with ease. And yet in spite of all this Robert imagined himself loved, and continued to pour forth the fulness of his soul in beautiful poems. That Robert Burns was enslaved by Nature there is no doubt at all. In his twenty-fourth year he declared, "There is scarcely any earthly object gives me more—I do not know that I should call it pleasure, but something that exalts me, something which enraptures me—than to walk in the sheltered side of a wood or a high plantation, in a cloudy winter day, and hear the stormy wind howling in the trees, and raving o'er the plain. It is my best season for devotion: my mind is wrapt up in a kind of enthusiasm for Him, who, in the pompous language of a Hebrew bard 'walks on the wings of the wind.' "

Poetry soon became the dominating feature of Burns' life. He wrote poems with the reaping hook in his hand, at the plough, and at the harrow, anywhere, if inspiration suddenly overcame him. "My passions," he said, "when once lighted up, rage like so many devils till they get vent in rhyme and then the conning over my verses, like a spell, soothes all into quiet."

And now we come to one of the saddest incidents in the poet's life, his courtship and marriage to Jean Armour. Too poor to contemplate marriage in the first instance, they courted for about four years, at the end of which Jean Armour bore him a child. This, to one so destitute as Robert was a very unfortunate event, but worse was to follow ; the father of Jean Armour upon hearing of his favourite daughter's union with the poet was torn with anguish and as she pleaded on her knees before him for leniency he snatched the marriage lines from her and commanded that she was to think herself no longer the wife of Robert Burns. Swayed by the strength of her father's authority she obeyed, refusing to see or hearken to anything the poet might have to say to her. At first Robert was driven into a blind rage by her action and then when this wore off a little he sought to forget all about her by indulgence in all sorts of dissipation, drunken bouts and the like. But this parting had cast a complete blight on his life, and he set forth his feelings in the following exquisitely mournful lines :—

No idly feigned poetic pains
    My sad love-lorn lamentings claim;
No shepherd's pipe ; Arcadian strains;
    No fabled tortures, quaint and tame;
The plighted faith, the mutual flame,
    The oft attested powers above,
The promised father's tender name—
    These were the pledges of my love.

With all this sorrow in more or less constant attendance upon the luckless Burns, one wonders how it came that he wrote so many humorous and light verses. But in the majority of his poems we find that little streak of melancholy, of which the following is a fair sample :—

The small birds rejoice in the green leaves returning,
The murmuring streamlet winds clear thro' the vale;
The hawthorn tree blows in the dew of the morning,
The wide scattered cowslips bedeck the green dale;
But what can give pleasure, or what can seem fair,
While the lingering moments are numbered by care?
No flowers gaily springing or birds sweetly singing,
Can soothe the sad bosom of joyless despair.

The poet was on many occasions very sarcastic and abrupt, he objected strongly to boasting of any description, and whilst he was dining at the table of Maxwell of Terraughty, one of the guests chose to monopolise the conversation and talk of the dukes and earls with whom he had dined or spoken, but Robert Burns eyeing him sternly across the table silenced him with the following :—

" What of earls with whom you have supt,
And dukes that you dined with yestreen ;
Lord! a louse, sir, is still but a louse,
Thò' it crawls on the curls of a queen."

So dainty and lyrical are most of Robert Burns' poems that a large number of them have been set to music, and are now more or less established songs in both England and Scotland ; these include among many the following : Here 'to those thats awa' ; Oh' wert Thou in the Cauld Blast ; Afton Water ; and last but not least—Auld Lang Syne—which is sung the world over.

Later in life the poet's health broke down completely, the crowning event of a life of discomfort. He became reunited with his Jean, but did not live to enjoy the fruits of her companionship.

That the poet had many follies, I would not deny, but lurid accounts of his misdoings have darkened other and more narratives than this. And since they are probably all the outcome of base rumours it would be but niggardly to repeat them here. Suffice it to say, he was a man with a beautiful soul, and that he possessed the best of intentions. His great passion for the society of women was perhaps his one significant failing. Of women and their fascinations he loved to talk freely and widely. In their presence he would be meek and dove-like, exercising his winning personality to its fullest advantage. But the failure of his many love affairs so distracted him, that he once bitterly exclaimed—

Talk not of love, it gives me pain,
For love has been my foe;
He bound me with an iron chain
And plunged me deep in woe.

Robert Burns was indeed a genius. Those who desire to feel him in his greatest strength must taste him in his Scottish spirit. Although in life Burns was unappreciated even by his own countrymen, to-day every nation of learning pays tribute to his skill, everywhere honours have been liberally paid to his name, and monuments have been erected to perpetuate his memory. Not until a man is removed from our midst do we acknowledge and revere his genius—why, it is hard to say. At Burns' funeral thousands lined the roadway to see the passing of a great man, the Government lifted his wife and family from their poverty, and a whole world has since been awed that so wonderful a man should take his nobler thoughts unspoken to the grave, through lack of support.

LELAND J. BERRY

THE OLD OAK TREE

A Spirit lives in the old oak tree,
Outside by my window panes—
It sings, and sings, and it sings to me,
In the winds and in the rains :
There's Something that lives in the old oak tree,
That 's akin to God and akin to me!

The wind blows up, and the wind blows down,
And the old tree bends and sways,—
And croons and laughs—but never a frown—
It seems uplifted in praise.
There 's Something that lives in the old oak tree,
That 's akin to God and akin to me!

The sparrows nest safe beneath the leaves,
By the rugged arms upborne—
Thick as the wheat in the golden sheaves,
That lie in the field new mown.
There 's Something that lives in the old oak tree,
That 's akin to the birds, to God, and me!

A tower of strength that lifts on high,
The old tree has stood for years ;
But it must die, just as you and I—
Like it we must have no fears.
For that Something within the dear old tree,
Is akin to God, to you, and to me !

The lightning may dart and strike its heart,
And it may wither and die ;
But nothing is lost, for of God a part,
We can Fate ane Death defy.
That Something in us and the old oak tree,
Will live with God through eternity!

TERESA STRICKLAND

IMAGINATION

On a cool summer's evening, two men descended from the open French window and strolled on the well kept, hard gravel terrace, overlooking the sunken lawn. They approached a wooden bench with the Japanese design, placed angularly, at the entrance of the marble loggia. The men sat on the bench, side by side, and talked, puffing at their cigarettes:

" It is so ripping to see you again, Hodges, old fellow ! " and Cave smiled, patting his friend affectionately on the shoulder, looking at him with his dreamy blue eyes. In moments of tense excitement the firm mouth would pucker up and Cave would look stern.

" Cave, you are the best-natured of fellows. It is just like you to have me here in your palatial mansion. We meet after a very long time and things are changed—things are changed," said Hodges wistfully.

" They are !" exclaimed his friend very swiftly and in firm tones as if he was quite sure things had changed. " They are, by Jove ! When you had last seen me three years ago—well, well ! I had hardly a penny to bless my soul with and now ! Lord ! I am rich !"

That was so, Gerald Cave was no aristocrat, born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He had known poverty ; he had experienced hard times. But an old maiden aunt had turned his fortunes by leaving him all she died possessed of, including the Reigate House, the most wonderful mansion in the village.

" You are a lucky beggar !" said Hodges, gazing at the red-bricked house. " But I don't know where you would have been if it had not been for your aunt."

The two men inhaled the rich, deep scent of the flowers that surrounded them and the pure, thin air of the evening.

Then, suddenly Hodges turned his hazel brown eyes, the colour of his hair, towards his friend and asked almost abruptly:

"I say, Cave, is your house haunted?"

"Gracious! What puts that in your head of a sudden? I suppose you are still interested in ghosts?"

"Exactly!—I am interested in ghosts more than ever! But I have not yet seen one!"

"Do you honestly wish to see a ghost?" asked Cave earnestly.

"I do!—But why?"

"Because two miles away from here, in a very deserted spot, there is a tumbledown house supposed to be haunted by an evil spirit which harms every one who sees it."

"Is that the truth," incredulously asked Hodges.

"Indeed I am not pulling your leg!"

"Then you excite my curiosity, so continue with the story."

"Well, it is supposed that this house is haunted by the evil spirit of a horrible old woman, who is said to have murdered her young and gentle step-daughter in this house, some hundred years ago. Both the ghosts of the mother and the daughter haunt the house and they terrify superstitious people to such an extent that by dark they never dare to pass the house of the phantoms."

"This is very exciting! Cave, do you know the exact situation of the house?"

"I do!—Why?"

"Because I wish to visit it at night and lie in waiting for the phantoms."

"You must not do so!" put in his friend.

"I must! and I will! so it's no good your arguing!"

"Then do it by all means! I bet a hundred pounds you will be terrified."

"Agreed! I take the wager that I am not frightened by ghosts."

"When do you go there—to-morrow?"

"Yes!"

"Then, to-morrow after dinner, I will take you there in my car and leave you in the haunted house. Hodges, old fellow, I do not envy you as I should not like to be there!" and Cave's eyes expressed horror.

Ernest Hodges, followed by his friend Gerald Cave, entered the little, square room of the tumbledown house, supposed to be haunted. He looked round carefully and by the light of the candles took in every detail. The room and the four walls were almost devoid of any ornament or furniture. It was a dilapidated room with old broken chairs and a square table. Beside the shattered doors was a window, its shutters broken. The odour of this room was foul; it was heavy. Creepy feelings passed through the back of Cave and he shivered slightly.

"Here we are!" said he, looking round the room, "What a terrible place to be in! My dear Hodges, you had better be reasonable and return with me."

"Certainly not!—not for the world, when I have always longed to visit a haunted house! No, Cave, I do not return to Reigate House until I see the ghosts and satisfy myself."

"Then good-bye and good luck."

The lighted candles were placed on a chair in a corner of the room, carefully secluded from any draught.

"You know by our previous arrangement I can keep the candles."

"Yes, of course."

"And the revolver too."

"Certainly."

Cave had left. Hodges was all alone in the room. He looked around the room involuntarily and shivered. But at the next moment he reproached himself for the weakness and said to himself: "I must be brave and win the hundred pounds and see those ghosts."

But try as he might, he could not overcome the creepy uncanny feeling that possessed him. He shivered. He was all alone in a horrible house, away from human help. But he had a revolver in his overcoat pocket and patted it with affection :

"Good fellow!—Good fellow!—What need have I for fright when you are by me!"

Hodges had bolted the broken down door and fastened the window, which was so dilapidated. He took off his overcoat and spread it neatly on the ground. Folding his legs comfortably, he sat on it. The revolver lay by him. Thus he sat, guarded and safe from intrusion, either human or ghostly. He sat in the same posture for two hours till fatigued he went off to sleep.

But it was not long that he slept. He was awakened by some mysterious, unearthly power. He awoke, terrified. Perspiration flowed from him freely. He looked wild-eyed about the room as if he expected it to be occupied by someone besides himself. Then he shook with fright, although he was the only occupant. The wind outside the room howled piteously, the shattered shutters of the windows fluttered, and the door banged, as if some one was knocking at it. A cold, strange wind crept over Hodges and he instantaneously and involuntarily crouched further into the corner. His hands were pressed tightly to his breast as if he wanted to calm down the vigorous heart-beats of his agitated self. He was frightened, very very frightened.

The wind howled and the door and the window continued to bang. A gust of wind swept into the room through the decrepit shutters and the candles flickered steadily until they went out and the room was in utter darkness. Hodges screamed—a low, piteous, human scream. His own scream frightened him. He was not sure who screamed. He thrust his trembling, cold, clammy hands into pockets and fumbled for matches. He struck one but it went out. He looked about him in the pitch darkness and he saw, in front of him, a huge, dark figure. He argued with himself that he was under a nightmare or was dreaming. He firmly clasped the revolver in his hands. His fingers touched the trigger. The figure advanced towards him. As it drew very very near, to where he was sitting, crouched on the floor, he gazed at it wild-eyed, like a lunatic. He saw that the figure was that of a stout, old woman, in shrivelled grey hair, and he could almost see the lines of old age on her stern, criminal face. Attired in rags, she stared at Ernest Hodges with her horrible expression. He screamed again and yet again, and drew more into the corner, his whole body relaxed and limp with fright. The ghastly apparition stared at him.

Suddenly he saw something else more in the room. The figure that approached him was white. It stood side by side with the other phantom. It was the figure of a young woman. Its white vague filmy tissues shone luminously in the pitch darkness. Long suffering and pain were written on its gentle face.

Not enduring any more, Hodges rose staggering to his cramped feet and fired a shot at the two phantoms. The closed, small room rang loudly with the shot. Rings of smoke arose in the darkness and the bullet passed through the bodies of the two phantoms. But as if to take revenge for the assault, the phantoms approached Hodges yet nearer. He fell down on the floor with a yell.

The wind proved to be too strong for the shattered window and it gave way. To it Hodges ran. It was refuge to him. He would run out into the world, a fugitive of fright. His revolver still lay in his firm grasp. He leapt towards the window but the two ghosts stood in front of him, barring his way. He recoiled with unlimited horror. He was dumb with fright. He glared at the two figures by the open window. His mouth was wide open. He took an aim again and fired towards the phantoms. The bullet passed out in the open. The phantoms approached him, steadily, steadily. Desperate, impulsive and wild, hardly knowing what he was doing, Hodges presssed the pistol against his temple, pulled the trigger and fell down dead on the floor.

ADI K. SETT

BITTER-SWEET

Those whom we love most hurt us oftenest ;
Such is the price of all life's ecstasies.
Each joy is muted by the pain that love
Inflicts, else were there no need for Heaven
Or human hopes of perfect things beyond
The incompleteness of our life on earth.
Love's gifts are bitter-sweet, as minor chords
Enhance the beauty of a song, or sound
Deep echoes in the soul, where melodies
Sung solely in the major mode cannot
Enthrall or satisfy the wistful heart.
So love on, and if you be wise, take pain
With its related joys as one who builds
A song of light and shade. Perchance one day
When young love mellows with the growing years,
And understanding comes, we'll turn the pain
To joy and banish tears and questioning.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM—HOW IT CAN BE SOLVED[1]

Emperor Frederick the Great when asked to give a harangue to his soldiers for encouraging them on the eve of a great battle, finished his peroration in three short sentences. "Here am I your Field Marshal, there is your enemy in your front, you are my soldiers, arrayed in front of me; fight." In the present case the Head of the Corporation of Calcutta would have rested after giving similar orders to their field force, namely, the Health Officer and his staff to fight with infective diseases, if by doing so the diseases could be removed. Germs of infectious diseases like tuberculosis or cholera are not visible, and so do not offer a target for your weapons. The fight is unequal, the advantage being all on the side of the enemy due to their invisibleness and mysterious way of living. Hence the field force of the Calcutta Corporation, Health Department, has thought it fit that all the inhabitants of this town should co-operate with them in their fight—otherwise it is a hopeless struggle. To give this help properly, the inhabitants must have a knowledge of the extent of the danger they are incurring by allowing the prevalence of epidemic diseases among them. Besides, they must know the germ, where it thrives and how it can be successfully fought. To get this knowledge, this meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta has been organised and for this the aid of the august Head of the Public Health Department of Bengal has been sought for. Now, it will interest you to note that the enemy with which we are concerned now, namely, the germ of tuberculosis, is a micro-organism not more than 1/30000th of an inch in length and 1/300000th of an inch in breadth. Though it is so extraordinarily minute in size (so much so that it can be seen only by a high-power microscope), yet the effect which it produces is not at all negligible. It is tangible enough, as is evidenced by the havoc it is creating. Its *modus operandi* is that it gets into the human system and destroys the organs of the affected man in a few months, and it does not rest after killing him. Its work of destruction is extended to the nearest relative of the sufferer and if its depredations be not checked, even the whole family may be ruined by this tiny germ, for such a calamity is happening before our eyes almost every day. On account of this devastating action, scientists throughout the world have made it a point to study this minute germ as thoroughly as possible and have found out the following facts which are worth remembering by all members of the community, if they want to ward off the attack of this insidious enemy of mankind which accounts for human mortality in the ratio of one individual out of every 7 killed by all the messengers of death throughout the world. Though accurate information is wanting about the death-rate from tuberculosis, yet from my personal knowledge I can say that it levies a very high toll in this country. The tuberculosis germ, strange to say, is a plant, that is, it is of vegetable origin. It can be grown in artificial culture medium in test tubes, and from it lower animals can be infected by tuberculosis. It attacks lower animals such as cows and birds, etc. One of its peculiarities is that it is killed by direct exposure to the sun's rays. Even diffuse rays of the sun have got a destructive action. Dryness destroys it. Moisture helps it to thrive. So, in dark moist rooms germs have been found to remain alive to the length of full one year. In particles of dust, if not exposed to the sun, it can live a pretty long time as the moisture it requires to keep it alive is present in dust in sufficient quantity. It has not got wings nor has it got a special insect carrier, such as the *anopheles* mosquito for malaria parasites. So it cannot fly from house to house. The great source of origin of the germ is a consumptive patient, as these suffering patients can go about and carry on their ordinary avocations of life for a pretty long time—2, 3, 4 and even sometimes 25 years. They communicate the disease to those with whom they come in contact especially when the resisting power of the latter is lowered by dust-laden, unwholesome air, malnutrition, child-bearing, etc. Now, as the persons who are disseminators of the germ cannot be easily found out and, even if found, cannot be prevented from mixing with the healthy people, it has become a problem indeed for the public-health men to devise a means to find them out and make them harmless.

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[1] A lecture delivered at a Health Exhibition in Calcutta.

Measures by which these can be done are based on the following facts :—

1. Congestion and over-crowding in towns where people live in dusty atmosphere and amidst numerous chances of infection due to presence of tuberculosis cases, majority of inhabitants having the germ in their system. Nearly 90 per cent. of the total population of the town carry tubercle bacilli in their system.

2. Bad method of living, exhaustion, anxiety, intemperance, too much child-bearing, etc., bring on the active phase of the disease germ already inhabiting the system, multiplying and killing the organism invaded.

3. Good way of living, inhalation of plenty of pure air, equable life free from worry, which are preventives against infection as also developement of germs in the system.

4. Even if the disease goes into the active infective phase through faulty method of living it can be made quiescent and non-infective by a change of life (by good way of living coupled with special methods of treatment).

For this reason, an outline of a scheme adopted from those used in European countries is given below :—

(1) The first step necessary to cope with the disease is adoption of means of finding out the living cases of tuberculosis.

(2) Ascertaining the number of deaths from tuberculosis. The latter is the comparatively easier problem. As none of the cases, excepting those already in the hospitals and those attending the public hospitals as outdoor patients, will come within the purview of the Health Officer, the fight against tuberculosis cannot have any chance of success, unless we devise some means of finding out the living cases—cases which are originating disease in others. Compulsory notification by medical men will never succeed as nowhere the required information could be obtained in this way.

(3) Provision for taking care of bad cases of tuberculosis among the poor by means of a sufficient number of beds for them. In U. S. A. every local body has to provide for a number of beds equal to the number of men dying annually from tuberculosis.

By this provision, the bad cases of tuberculosis which are sure to infect immediate attendants of the patients (son, daughter, wife or husband), owing to their ignorance, are taken care of in a hospital, where trained nurses nurse the patient. Here infection does not occur as a rule.

(4) Opening of tuberculosis dispensaries in all insanitary tuberculosis-infected areas.

These dispensaries are an essential feature of any anti-tuberculosis campaign. They are not like ordinary medicine-giving charitable dispensaries treating all diseases. The principle underlying the dispensary is that its real aim is not treatment—though treatment is carried on to attract suffering men—but creation of an information bureau for getting information of living tuberculosis cases from amongst the poor and at the same time giving information regarding the nature of the help which the tuberculosis patient can get from the authorities. Here the cases are examined thoroughly, the sputum being examined free of charge.

(5) *Tuberculosis colony.*—In England, a system has been devised called the Papworth Colony system in which the tuber-

culosis cases in the ambulatory-cases stage are given facility for settling in the colony, where work suitable to their conditions is provided amongst healthy surroundings. Under such conditions diseases do not advance and from the infective, dangerous stage the patient becomes non-infective and may after a time shake off the disease altogether.

(6) *Sanitarium.*—Situated in salubrious climate where patients who can pay for treatment are treated by specialists. This has got a limited application, as a short stay in sanitarium never can free them from the complaint, yet it is not without its value. Besides, all our efforts will fail to help them in the proper way, if we leave out the elementary precaution, namely, that we must not lump together all tuberculosis cases in one group and give them relief irrespective of their condition. For tuberculosisis, unlike other infective diseases, the general condition of the suffering patients differs remarkably in different stages of the disease ; from the symptomless, apparently healthy, men carrying on their avocation without least trouble to patients panting for breath at the slightest exertion. The difference is so well marked that all the patients cannot be classed together in dealing with them. So, they must be classified into (*a*) ambulatory non-infective cases, (*b*) ambulatory cases in the infective stage, (*c*) infective cases temporarily bed-ridden, for whom there is complete chance of recovery by treatment, and (*d*) hopeless cases.

Now, in this country where the sun's rays and pure air are easily available, patients settling even in non-salubrious villages of Bengal, the application of anti-tuberculosis measures is easy. If a public body like the Calcutta Corporation takes out the lease of a plot of land near Diamond Harbour or Shampur (Howrah), and hands it over to a registered body its next duty will be to find out a proper party who are to give relief (I call it an Anti-tuberculosis Society) composed of leading practitioners and leading laymen. And if a hospital having about 50 beds be opened for admission of tuberculosis cases, then there will be a good chance of making the anti-tuberculosis campaign effective. I have not purposely touched on the general improvement of sanitation, of street watering, prevention of smoke nuisance, better way of living, as preventive measures against tuberculosis. For it goes without saying that every municipality must carry on these elementary sanitary improvements irrespective of whether there is increased tuberculosis or not in the locality. But if special precaution against infection be not taken, all efforts in the way of general sanitary improvement will be of no avail. I need not get into the controversial question whether good food, pure water, or inhalation of pure air will suffice for prevention of tuberculosis and whether special precautions are not necessary. I have seen men in enjoyment of perfect health and in affluent circumstances and engaged in outdoor work in villages catching tuberculosis and dying of it because of infection. Even Lord Irwin has not been spared the visitation by such an uncouth rustic infection as malaria parasite. Lastly, in applying these measures I cannot help referring to one essential thing which will make the anti-tuberculosis scheme successful. It is this that besides accurate knowledge of ways of tubercle bacilli as found by scientific men, those who are responsible for its application must possess superabundance of sympathy for the sufferers. The change in the view-point of the public at large in England, regarding consumptives, brought about by such eminent men as Dr. Newsholme, late Medical Officer of Local Self-Government Board of England, and eminent physicians like Dr. Clifford Albut, has been the means of diminishing remarkably the total morbidity and mortality from tuberculosis in England. The picture of old days, of men reduced to skeleton, with mufflers around their neck and an inhaler in their mouth and spittoon at their side, coughing incessantly, shunned by everybody like lepers, frequenting the public places of England, has been reduced to a rarity now-a-days.

Thanks to the noble efforts of the above-named gentlemen, their slogan in dealing with these diseases, in contrast to what a man in the street says that every consumptive must die of it, is that "Hope first, hope second, hope last. This translated into action means that every tuberculosis case in whatever stage it may be found can be brought to the quiescent stage. So it is necessary to keep up a robust optimism in dealing with them, for there is justification for doing it, as we see almost every day in our life in this country, men even in cavity stage of the disease showing signs of arrest of it and carrying on the ordinary avocations of life without the least trouble. Here in this country, this change in the view-point of the disease is very much wanted. The word consumptive is an anathema and conjures up a vision of phthisis germs flying out from every part of the patient's body and infecting his neighbours. So, the opening of a new hospital or home for consumptives or a colony for consumptives is unfortunately made the starting point of a violent agitation against it by the public, the result being the patient instead of remaining in well cared-for institutions where chance of infection is reduced to *nil*, becomes, as a matter of course, the inmate of the house of those very persons who oppose these institutions. Thus the disease occurs amongst the patients' own relatives, where the mode of infection not being known or cared for, infection in others is sure to follow. It has been found out by actual experience that infection from hospitals is the rarest thing in the world, whereas infection even in best-regulated houses is almost the rule.

By this, I do not mean to imply that our countrymen are wanting in the domestic social virtue of properly attending and taking charge of their relatives suffering from tuberculosis. On the contrary it is due to I should say inordinate development of this virtue, by which wife nurses her phthisical husband, the husband attends on his tuberculous wife, sons their consumptive mothers, sisters their dying brothers, regardless of consequences. To this is to be partly attributed the terrible death rate from tuberculosis in this country. We do not want to do away with this virtue, of which we take justifiable pride which prevents our nearest relatives being treated by paid nurses. I wish only one change to take place, *viz.*, in our present arrangement, intelligent nursing based on accurate knowledge of infection and management of tuberculosis cases on the lines indicated above, should be adopted. We want more of the Florence Nightingale type of nurses and better outlook on the part of the public at large on the tuberculosis question. If this be not done the Bengalee race, placed between two cross fires (if they go to the villages they die of malaria, if they go to the crowded towns they die of tuberculosis) will be wiped off in no time.

The Scheme.—There should be two independent organisations having their own funds and their committees acting in co-operation with each other to solve the problem of tuberculosis :

1. The Antituberculosis Society composed mostly of medical men whose duty will be propaganda, advising the local bodies and being responsible for proper selection of cases to be sent to different institutions and inspection of the tuberculosis colony.

2. Co-operative, Industrial and Agricultural Village Settlement Bank. It will be registered under the Co-operative Registration Act. It will issue shares to the extent of 5 lacs or so. At least 100,000 rupees worth of shares to be bought by the Calcutta Corporation. These may be bought at an instalment of Rs. 1,000 a month. Philanthropic gentlemen can be easily induced to buy its shares. The Industrial Bank will take lease of land in Diamond Harbour or Shampur or nearabouts of 5,000 bighas. Those who want to settle on the land must apply to the Antituberculosis Society who will certify that the applicant is a proper subject for settling in the Colony (*i.e.*, an early non-infective tuberculosis case). The applicant will buy shares (minimum being Rs. 100) of the Bank. The Bank will advance 10 times the value of his shares for helping him to settle on the land. He will occupy himself in some agricultural or industrial work. The Bank may act as a co-operative marketing association for selling at an advantageous rate the produce of the labour of the settlers. The Antituberculosis Society will arrange for

visiting the invalid settlement and the colony. The Corporation will provide for 200 beds for acute bed-ridden cases of tuberculosis, somewhere in Calcutta or in the suburbs which are not malarious.

GOPALCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

ULTIMATUM

The beetle buzzes blithely round the wind-blown flower,
Rooms by, returns and hovers there for many an hour,
At last to settle gladly, gain sweet nectar's dower !

I'll try and let me fail; I'll fight tho' but to lose ;
I'll set sail tho' the darkness beacon-light refuse :
The spider's pattern of bold industry I choose !

I'll fail, not faint nor fear ; but hungrily I'll try,
Till thou dost drop a melting tear, with pitying sigh
Declarest me the victor, and thyself ally !

Till full inebriate with love's fond effort brave,
Intrepid daring, warrior courage, thou dost stave
Away the blows of fortune, rescue, claim and save !

And take me, old before my years, infirm and bent,
Into thy universal bosom to lament
My stricken, broken state !—My Lord ! thou wilt relent !

CYRIL MODAK

THE BREATH OF THE MYRTLE

How sweet is the breath of the Myrtle,
That exhales from clusters of bloom,
And sheds o'er the quaint, old-time garden,
Its mystical, subtle perfume.
Ah, Love, it seems that our lives are twined
With roses, myrtle, and rue—
And I think of another garden,
In the ages now lost to view !
The doves cooed and soared in that garden,
And in rhythmical circles flew,
Above the pink-crested myrtles,
And winged to the endless blue,—
Till like Corona they shone above,
As a crown of glittering stars—
While Phoebus rode over in splendour,
And cast down his golden spars !
Reclining within the Rose-arbor,
Beside me then, just as now,
You were weaving for me your poems,
As roses I twined for your brow.
There, the green of the lawn sloped downward,
To bathe in the Aegean Sea ;
There were shrines to gods in that garden,—
And you, and our love, and me......
The dream of a dream, or a vision—
I know, my Belovéd, 'twas true ;
Whe'er the life, or whene'er the time,
It was you I loved, only you !

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE METAPHYSICAL BASIS OF MONADISM

The metaphysical treatment of the problem of life leads us back to the ultimate differences of view indicated by the terms 'monism' and 'pluralism' or, in other words, in discussing the doctrine of monadism or pan-psychism from the philosophical point of view one is led inevitably to ask whether monadism is compatible with a monistic theory of the universe or whether it constrains us to be content with a form of pluralism. A monistic theory of nature has mainly assumed the form either of a materialistic or spiritualistic rendering of the facts. Materialism has usually claimed to rest on the empirical basis of physical science. " The physics of a generation earlier than our own," says Prof. J. Johnstone, "thought that it had discovered Reality in its conception of a Universe consisting of atoms and molecules in ceaseless motion," and these atoms and molecules were taken to be infinitely small particles, 'inert' and 'dead' in character. But all along materialism has proved itself incompetent to deal with the phenomena of life and mind. Moreover, materialism would appear now to be in conflict even with the facts of physical science itself as scientists have come to regard them.

It behoves us, then, to confine attention to spiritualism or idealism. " The word 'Idealism,' " says Russell, "is used by different philosophers in somewhat different senses. We shall understand by it the doctrine that whatever exists, or at any rate, whatever can be known to exist, must be in some sense mental" (*The Problems of Philosophy*, p. 58). This statement must, however, be pronounced vague. We need to know in what sense whatever is is declared to be mental. Now, historically, idealism has been presented in two forms—subjective idealism as it was elaborated by Berkeley, and objective idealism, the grounds of which were laid in the Critical Philosophy of Kant. Though these two forms of idealism differ widely, yet the underlying principle of both seems to be fundamentally the same, namely, that "whatever exists or at any rate, whatever can be known to exist, must be in some sense mental." This idealistic conception of the world as mental, as developed and elaborated, for example, by Berkeley, falls into what has been named a 'malignant subjectivism,' for on this view, the world conceived as through and through mental comes to consist in a succession of mental contents and processes; and thus may be said to explain away the world of external things. On the other hand, objective idealism, as its name indicates, is not the explaining away, but an attempted explanation of, or an attempt to 'save,' the world of external things in terms of mind. The main principle of objective idealism, chiefly associated with the name of Hegel; may be put in one sentence, namely, that the world of objects of the 'Many' is the differentiation of an ultimate 'One' or 'Absolute.' Or, in Hegelian phraseology, the 'One' or 'Absolute' realises itself in and through the 'Many' or the differentiated world so that the objects in which the Absolute is differentiated are not only related to the Absolute, but are, in a sense, the Absolute. Dr. McTaggart thinks that according to Hegel the Absolute is a unity of persons. Thus interpreted objective idealism would seem to be a further development of Leibnizian monadism. It will not do, therefore, to rest content with the position, even though confirmed by science, that 'objects' and even parts of objects are 'living,' but I would go further and maintain that life is merely phenomenal manifestation of an internal or spiritual principle, and that all ultimate realities are in truth monads or souls. This, I shall contend, is the logical terminus of the doctrine of objective idealism. But certain objections have been brought against an idealism that thus culminate in monadism by Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Pringle-Pattison, the two chief exponents of the idealistic creed in the present time. Perhaps Prof. Taylor is right in saying that most idealists are "too often apt to resent the very existence of an 'inorganic' world as a stone of stumbling maliciously flung down in the way of their faith,'' for they are inclined to argue that the conception of the so-called ' objects ' as possessing souls is subversive of their existence as 'objects.' They are content to say of so-called 'objects' that they have no being independent of the Absolute and that they *somehow* fall within the being of the Absolute. Let us here consider somewhat more in detail the views of Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Pringle-Pattison on this point.

According to Dr. Bosanquet the world of objects, or the world of nature, though independent of our momentary attitude and self-subsistent, yet, possesses qualities which prove it to be in relation with a sentient, cognitive, and volitional subject. Though nature thus considered has, according to him, an intimate connexion with mind or spirit, this ' connexion ' must be thought of as being of a *non-committal* kind. Whilst admitting that nature is in some sense plastic and responsive to finite subjective mind, and in this respect may be set down as in some sense ' expressive ' of mind, or the 'embodiment' or a ' crystallisation ' or ' hieroglyph of mind,' Dr. Bosanquet holds that this familiar and obvious conception has hidden within it two antagonistic lines of thought.......the one starting from the idea of *kinship* between mind and nature, the other from the idea of their *complementariness*, and so *prima facie* in a kind of opposition. The former idea of kinship between mind and nature ends no doubt, ''in the conception of the universe as a society of spirits, in which the constituent parts of nature are members, in grades and divisions unknown to us, but intelligible by analogy. The external world would thus be the body, and its behaviour the language and conduct of actual spiritual beings, not ourselves. And whether we preferred the phraseology of will or of meaning, there would be literal truth in saying that nature possesses a purpose and a significance, akin to our own, communicable to us according to our measure of sympathy and insight, while barred against us in the main by difference perhaps of modes of utterance, perhaps of the span of consciousness. We should, in short, have accepted the general attitude of pan-psychism." (*Principle of Individuality and Value*, p. 362.) But he is afraid that this conception would do away with all "externality," *i.e.*, "all outward appearance becomes resolvable *ad infinitum* into spirits.". "If pan-psychism is necessary, the resolution into spirit must be universal." (*Ibid*, p. 363.) Now, Dr. Bosanquet argues that this conception shows a mere poverty of philosophical imagination. It destroys the complementary and inseparable character of mind and nature by reducing the one to the other. He does not find any necessity for reducing the contributions of all elements to the whole to a homogeneous type. On the contrary, he thinks, it leads to some absurd or awkward positions such as this that the 'material incidents of life,' *e.g.*, food, clothes, country, one's own body, the relation to which is essential for the existence of a finite being, being reduced to subjective psychical centres, would lose their function and character for us in so far as their subjective psychical quality is realised.

On the other hand, starting from the second of the two conceptions, namely, that mind and nature are complementary, we arrive, Dr. Bosanquet maintains, at some such view as this : "External nature is not a masked and enfeebled section of the subject-world, but is that from which all finite subjects draw their determinate being and content, as the active form of totality is revealed in partial centres, according to some unknown law by which nature, under certain conditions only, becomes the vehicle of life and of subjective mind." (*Ibid*, p. 369.) We cannot in any way ascribe independent being to nature. We want it as the supplier of content to our minds and it would be idle and superfluous to ascribe to it a mind of its own. Our minds are its own mind, but by this it should not be thought that we deprive it of a being of its own, or that it is merely auxiliary to the ends of humanity. It is not that we bring ends with us which nature is bound to subserve, it is that nature teaches us what are the ends of the universe, or to express it in Keat's words, nature is the vale of our soul-making. Thus Dr. Bosanquet concludes that mind and nature are interdependent or complementary. Nature, he says, may be said to exist through finite minds, and finite minds again may be said to exist through nature. ·Finite minds, in other words, express and interpret in some degree the significance of the external conditions of nature. But the question why it is so is an ultimate question and remains as inscrutable as the question why the universe is what it is. The instincts, the feelings of joy, etc., of the lower creation are, in his view, the outcome of some 'external conditions as focussed in life and mind,' and pass into the complete experience, which is the life of the whole, as their crown and climax.

Following in this respect the thought of Dr. Bosanquet, Prof. Pringle-Pattison also criticises pan-psychism The central point of his contention is that man or mind and nature are *organic* to each other. His view is that internality is meaningless without externality, and a subject or a self would merely be an empty form had there not been a world to draw on for its content and feeling. The uniformity of nature is the necessary condition of the life of intelligence and reasonable action. The conditions of individuation and the means of communication between individuals seem to be furnished by the system of nature. But monadism would, he holds, simply resolve the organic vesture of the spirit and its environmental conditions into innumerable 'quasi-spiritual centres,' and the objective world would thus become simply 'the appearance of these souls or monads to one another.' This monadism, or, as he terms it, philosophical animism, is, in his view, 'too primitively simple an expedient,' and it cannot be reconciled with our common-sense view of nature. For, with Dr. Bosanquet, he considers that it is as things or externalities that things exist as such, and not as selves, in which latter case they would lose their characteristic being. Prof. Pringle-Pattison is of opinion that by resolving nature into what he calls an aggregate of 'tiny minds monadism only introduces confusion. For the purpose of idealism it would be sufficient if nature as a whole be recognised as *complementary* to mind, and as not possessing an absolute existence of its own 'apart from its spiritual completion.' Mind again is 'intellectually and ethically void' unless there be a world to furnish it with the materials of knowledge and of duty. Both are necessary elements of a single system.

An objective idealism of this type affords, then, little countenance to the doctrine of monadism or pan-psychism ; nay, it may be said, the existence of an 'inorganic' world is on this view a necessity. Objects to exist as such must not be independent of the Absolute ; they must *somehow* be taken into the life of the Absolute. While, however, these writers are content to say that the mode of living of objects is inscrutable, I think they leave the real problem unsolved. The main difficulty in the line of thought we have been following, seems to me to consist in the ascription of one kind of existence to one half of nature and another kind of existence to the other half of nature. I think Prof. Taylor is right in arguing that "the kind of existence which is predicated of one part of the system must, by a logical necessity, be ascribed equally to the remainder." The pluralism, in its spiritualistic form, of the present day, may be said to have been worked out in the light of this consideration. It starts with the conception of a world of monads or souls as conative in character. I take Profs. Ward and Taylor as the chief exponents of this sort of pluralism.

The time-honoured distinction of the world of mechanism and the world of morals, or, in Kant's words, the realm of Nature and the realm of ends, has, Dr. Ward thinks, perhaps presented the greatest crux to philosophers, for when they are called upon to explain the relation of this mechanism to mind they become involved in hopeless inconsistencies. "Having," he says, "satisfied ourselves that mechanism is not the secret of the universe ; that, if it is to have any meaning it must subserve some end, and finding generally that increased knowledge of Nature's laws means increased control of Nature's processes, we accept the facts of experience in which subject and object interact, rather than the conclusions of dualism, that mind and matter are for us two alien worlds and all knowledge of Nature an inexplicable mystery—we accept the spiritualistic standpoint and its Realm of Ends as the more fundamental." (*The Realm of Ends*, p. 13.) Dr. Ward here anticipates an objection. "It will be objected, " he writes, " beyond humanity and history, beyond, if you will, the whole realm of sentient life, Nature is there all the while, and there as no mere background but as the basis of the whole, the fundamental plasma which can only be shaped because it is itself determinate and orderly." In answer to this Prof. Ward contends that even granting this he finds nothing in nature to conflict with a spiritualistic interpretation when nature is envisaged as a whole. In what is called the historical world, determinate agents are, he thinks, placed first in the order of existence and what is called the order and development which we observe are to be traced back to their action and interaction. So also is the case of nature. Our power over nature is insignificant, for we have neither made it nor have we in any significant extent shaped it, " we are not even settlers from a foreign clime but aborigines seemingly sprung from the soil." (*Ibid*, p. 20.)

Over and above these considerations, Dr. Ward argues that the principle of continuity, which was propounded by Leibniz, namely, that ' Nature never makes leaps,' further strengthens the position of pan-psychism, and pan-psychism appeals to this principle as its chief, though not the only, ground. Further research in the domain of science, Dr. Ward holds, lends countenance to this view when it extends the range of life far into the region of what was once regarded as inanimate and when it shows that the lowest known organisms are highly complex and extremely varied. But this, he thinks, is by no means the ultimate limit reached, for, our senses and the artificial aids and methods of research at present available are not capable of discriminating between yet simpler forms of life and *their* environment, and hence we cannot say such simple forms do not exist. Dr. Ward rather thinks it preferable to conclude with Spinoza that 'all individual things are animated, albeit in diverse degrees.' Apart from the principle of continuity, Dr. Ward further finds sufficient justification for such a view in the reflexion that " what can neither do nor suffer, what is nothing for itself, is truly nothing at all ; for—again as Spinoza maintained—every individual thing, so far as in it lies, endeavours to persist in its own being. On this, the pan-psychist view, Nature thus resolves into a plurality of conative individuals, and the range and complexity of the correspondence between a given individual and its environment marks the stage to which it has advanced in its interaction with the rest. " (*Ibid*, p. 21.) The important question here forced upon is, Dr. Ward argues, whether the plurality of interacting subjects accounts for itself and for the unity which such interaction implies. From the point of view of pluralism of a radical sort the step from a world of spirits to a Supreme Spirit is, he considers, only a *possible* one. From a pluralistic standpoint though a unity of some sort is obviously implied in talking of a world at all, yet the unity of the world may be likened to that of a society which presupposes the association of the individuals, and is not an Absolute of which the individuals are somehow appearances. Even if there be a highest then the highest will be only a *primus inter pares*, one among the many, and not "an Absolute really including them all." According to Dr. Ward it is with the parts —the many—that the pluralist starts and the question as to whether there is an Absolute as the logical and real ground of the parts, is not for the pluralist the first question, but the last. It may perhaps be said that the Supreme Being of the pluralists is the 'finite God,' of which James speaks, and though many may disown it as a manifest contradiction in terms, yet it is the 'upper limit' of pluralism beyond which it does not seem possible for the pluralist to go.

Though Dr. Ward thinks that it is rather with the plurality than with the unity that we, as men, are first of all practically concerned—for we are one of the 'many ' and with them we interact—and that the conception of an ultimate unity arises only at a late period of our mental development and that after a great deal of reflexion, yet he contends that the pluralistic standpoint is not a fundamental one. The unity which pluralism reaches may be said to be a 'unity of the system' and not a ' living unity and is, therefore, not a unity in a real and ultimate sense. For this reason we must ultimately have recourse to monism or theism which, on Dr. Ward's view, promises to complete pluralism and does not threaten to abolish it. Dr. Ward thinks that theism provides 'theoretically more unity in the ground of the world, and practically a higher and fuller unity in its means and end.' What theism involves is that the unity is the ground of the plurality, and this unity is none other than God, and God, considered from the point of view of man, is, Dr. Ward urges, Spirit as possessing intelligence and will and so personal. The world of plurality can be considered only as the creation of God. A plurality of finite selves in the interaction of which the world is constituted would possess in itself no guarantee, and we could not even reasonably expect that such a totality would ever attain to perfect organic unity. It is not that the theism to which pluralism points leaves no place for God *in* the world. What we are to mean by 'creation' in this connexion is, Dr. Ward maintains, only a 'continuous presence.' So that "if God is the ground of the world at all, He is its ground always as an active, living, interested spirit, not merely as an everlasting, changeless and indifferent centre, round which it simply whirls." (*Ibid*, p. 447.) But this should not blind us to the other aspect, namely, the real nature of the world of monads. To distinguish his position from the "Singularists " or the " Absolutists " Dr. Ward maintains that "from the standpoint of the many, we have no ground for assuming a Creator who does everything but only a Creator whose creatures create in turn." (*Ibid*, p. 352.)

Or, in other words, the monads which constitute the universe are real agents at work.

From these general considerations let us turn to the explanation Dr. Ward has to give of the relation between body and mind. Following the lead of Leibniz Dr. ward maintains that the relation of soul to body is that of soul to other souls, the organisation and presentation of which simply constitute what we call body. The dominant monad is *the* soul which constitutes the individuality, and the other souls are its attendant group of subordinate monads. But in thus conceiving the relation between body and mind can we dispose of the objection which Bosanquet and others have raised against monadism, namely, that if 'things' or 'inorganic' objects were in truth souls, that would subvert their function as 'things' or 'objects'? In other words, we have to inquire whether the resolution of the real world into a multiplicity of monads in any way precludes the conceptions of 'object' and 'objective relation' as contrasted with 'subject' and 'subjective relation.' Here, Dr. Ward thinks, it is important to distinguish (1) the relation in which the dominant monad or the individual stands to its attendant group of subordinate monads, and (2) the relation in which the dominant monad and the subordinate monads as constituting a single whole stand to all else besides. As regards the (1) we have, he urges, to contend that what has been called the 'intimacy of the *rapport*' between the dominant monad and its attendant group of subordinate monads is more complete, and in this sense the latter group is 'diaphanous for its own subject'; the relation may be called a subjective or intrasubjective relation. But as regards (2) the single whole may be said to be 'opaque' to all subjects besides, and thus constitute an object for the other subjects. In this sense, every object is also a subject and *vice versa*. What is an object from my point of view is a subject from its own point of view.

Prof. Taylor may be said to have reached a result similar to that of Prof. Ward. Taking his stand on what he calls 'systematic idealism,' Prof. Taylor discards the subjective idealism of Berkeley and contends that if there is any seriousness in holding that the *esse* of the psychical order, *e.g.*, ourselves and our fellows, is not mere *percivi*, then we must hold that it is *percipere* or *sentire*. The physical nature which we perceive is, Prof. Taylor maintains, a community or a complex of communities of sentient experiencing beings. The reality that is behind the appearance must, he contends, be of the same general type as that which we, for identical reasons, assert to be behind the appearances we call the bodies of our fellows. The physical order, he holds, must be the appearance of a more ultimate reality that is non-physical in character, inasmuch as it is dependent for its perceived qualities on the sense-organs of the percipient. The physical order has, he thinks, an existence, as centre of feeling, over and above its existence as presentation to our senses. A body is the presentation to our sense of a system or complex of systems of experiencing subjects. The reason why nature appears lifeless and purposeless to us is, he suggests, analogous to the reason why the speech of a foreigner seems senseless jargon to a rustic who knows no language but his own. What is called a 'thing' or 'subject' is, in truth, he maintains, an entity of *teleological* structure and things or objects in nature differ only in degree and not in kind. A thing or object cannot be a mere collection of qualities without an internal unity, and this internal unity is, in his view, that of an individual experience. But by thus resolving the world into a manifold of 'subjective centres of experience' it should not be thought that the world of Reality is a mere *whole of parts*. On the contrary, he maintains, it is their *living unity* or a system, and to be a system it must be the development or expression in detail of a single principle which may be said to be the informing principle of the individual parts, for these must be the expression of a single principle in and through a multiplicity of terms or constituents. In Prof. Taylor's view "Reality is a systematic experience of which the components are likewise experiences," or "it is a subject which is the unity of subordinate subjects," or "it is an individual of which the elements are lesser individuals." "A thing," Prof. Taylor asserts, "is individual just so far as it is unique, and only that which is the embodiment of a single purpose or interest can be unique. A single whole of experience owing its unity as a whole precisely to the completeness and harmony with which it expresses a single purpose or interest, is necessarily an individual. The all-embracing experience which constitutes Reality is thus in its inmost nature a complete individual. And the lesser experiences which form the elements or material content of Reality are each, just so far as each is truly one experience, individual in the same sense as the whole. We may thus call Reality a complete or perfect individual of minor or incomplete individuals." (*Elements of Metaphysics*, pp. 98-99.)

We are now in a position to see how monadism or panpsychism stands related to idealism, or rather, to objective idealism as distinguished from the subjective idealism of Berkeley. The remark of Russell already quoted that 'whatever exists or whatever can be known to exist, is in some sense mental,' may, perhaps, be taken to express in one sentence the cardinal principle of idealism in its various forms. But the real crux lies in determining exactly in what sense idealism tries to interpret objects and everything in nature in terms of mind. As we have seen, the idealists such as Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Pringle-Pattison, contend that the so-called 'things' in nature are not 'spirits,' but only that they are *organic* to spirit, and that in their ultimate nature the so-called 'things' are *somehow* included in the being of the Absolute. So in order to avoid dualism, they would urge that so-called 'inorganic' objects or 'things' are never independent of the Absolute Spirit, but are in some sense mental, in the sense, namely, that they fall within the being of Spirit. But here they may be said to fall unconsciously into a sort of dualism, for 'inorganic' things are still in nature totally different from minds or spirits. In this reference the Leibnizian idealism and its later development in the hands of Lotze, Prof. Ward and Prof. Taylor seem to represent the essence of a more thorough-going idealism. The later writers while developing Leibniz's thought have been content to give up and criticise Leibniz's conception of windowless monads, *i.e.*, the absolute isolation of monads, and replace it by a theory of interaction. A thorough-going idealism consistently developed seems to me to terminate in monadism or pan-psychism, for, if it be once admitted that the differentiations of the Absolute Spirit are themselves spirits what logical ground is there for curtailing the sphere of the so-called 'differentiations' and for confining them to the realm of the 'organic'? This seems to leave a gap in the doctrine and deprive it of coherence and consistency. What ground have we, it would be asked, from the standpoints of idealism, for ascribing one kind of existence to one part of the system of nature and not the same kind of existence to the remainder? To be consistent with its fundamental principle, namely, that the world is through and through spiritual, idealism, in its objective form, may be said to lead to a personalistic conception of nature, *i.e.*, if a thing is to exist it must be something on its own account or an active centre of reference, and in this respect we can ascribe to it a self or soul on the analogy of our own self, of which only we have a first-hand knowledge as an active centre of reference. But this should not blind us to the fact that personality admits of degrees, and if we designate human beings as 'persons,' we shall, perhaps, be justified in calling all sub-human beings 'sub-persons,' *i.e.*, they are, at least, conative centres of activity. Thus, this ascription of selves to other things in nature may be said to proceed on a logical basis, and as Mr. Richardson aptly puts it, "the existence of at least one self being granted, we proceed to assume the existence of other selves." And, perhaps, since we are prevented by our special psychical structure from communicating with the so-called 'inorganic' objects we too hastily assume that they are inanimate. But the assumption may be unwarranted.

But it may still be asked, what proof is there for such a conclusion? In establishing monadism we may adduce two sorts of proof—*scientific* and *speculative.* I should here consider in brief only the speculative ground on which monadism is based. The chief ground seems to me to be the principle of continuity, as propounded by Leibniz. The principle of continuity seems to have won general recognition and is now frequently called into requisition both in the field of science (*cf.* for instance, A. R. Wallace, *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature*, pp. 204 ff.) and in that of philosophy. Again, in this connexion the question may be raised as to what grounds one has for assuming that other beings besides one's self possess minds or souls at all, and whether the grounds which we consider valid in this regard are not equally grounds for attributing also to so-called 'inorganic' objects, minds or souls? The question as to how we know other minds may be answered from two points of view, the one more or less speculative and the other psychological. It is with the latter that we are here chiefly concerned. The more speculative answer to the question is illustrated in such phenomena as telepathic action, etc., and from the point of view of our knowledge of other minds may be said to be direct, that is to say, if we assume that the Absolute is present wholly and undividedly in its differentiations, then the relation of the individuals to one another may be said to be direct through a common basis. But this more speculative mode of treating the problem is far from being that of common-sense and the strength it may have can only be estimated by those who are familiar with the phenomena referred to. Let us then confine our attention to the psychological aspect of the problem. The usual psychological doctrine is that we know other minds mediately and not immediately, that is to say, our knowledge of other minds is *inferential*. All we can directly know of other individuals are the outward expressions of their mental life, and where such outward expression resembles those of our own with which we are acquainted we infer that since the latter are expressions of a mind or soul the former must also be the outward manifestations of an inner mental life. Minds may be said then to communicate by means of bodily actions and perhaps their community of nature provides the basis for certainty of inference when one mind thus interprets another. The inferential process is more implicit than explicit, especially in child life, but probably unconscious inference of this sort plays a not unimportant part even in the ordinary perceptive experience of the nature of mental life. Now, from this psychological point of view there seems to be no strong ground for excluding a similar inference that behind the actions of the so-called 'inorganic' things there are also mental lives and souls. It is true we do not ordinarily draw that inference, although in primitive human thought the wide prevalence of 'animism' is, in this respect, noteworthy. The reason why in our own case such inference is precluded may be due to the fact that, in consequence of our peculiar organisation, we have no means of communicating with mental lives of a low stage of development. Yet the progress of science may in the future find a means of overcoming that difficulty.

The strength of a metaphysical theory is to be judged by its capacity of explaining consistently the facts of experience, and in this respect monadism seems to afford a more satisfactory explanation of the world of plurality in keeping with a fundamental unity, than does any other theory of an idealistic type. And here we should emphasise the essentially theistic character of monadism, in spite of Mr. Russell's assertion that a monadism, when it is logical, is necessarily atheistic. (*Vide Philosophy of Leibniz*, p. 172.) The conception of a world of interacting monads or souls logically implies a unity which is the common ground of their interaction; otherwise it is difficult to see how any intelligible meaning can be given to the conception of activity. The ' many 'need " an ontological unity for their cosmological unity " and "a teleological unity for their varied ends " (Ward, *Realm of Ends*, p. 442), and such an ontological unity cannot be like a changeless and indifferent centre round which the world whirls, but must be an active, living, interested spirit, possessing what we, from our human point of view, cannot otherwise describe than as intelligence and will, and thus as personal, while admitting that Bradley may be right that, as viewed from a higher point of view than ours, it must in truth be super-personal. But personal or supra-personal the Absolute is the *informing spirit* of the 'many' or the differentiated world of objects and is immanent in them ; while at the same time, it is also transcendent, in as much as its whole nature is not exhausted in the differentiated world. As transcendent it is a unique individual and differentiated from other individuals whose manifestations they are.

Such is the general conclusion. Let us now turn to the particular problem of the relation of body and mind. Here the problem of the One and the Many may be said to reappear, as it were, in miniature. From the point of view of monadism, or, as it may perhaps be called ' personal idealism,' the relation must be described as the relation of a Soul to other souls, the organisation of these other souls constituting what is called the 'body.' Thus in a commonwealth of souls we are, perhaps, justified in saying with Leibniz that *the* Soul, which constitutes a human being's individuality, is the dominant or presiding monad over the other monads which may be rightly described as subordinate, the chief function of which may be to serve the interests and purposes of the dominant monad, at any rate in the situation in which they are placed by what may be called a divine act. The relation of the soul to body is accordingly to be conceived as an intra-subjective relation and not a relation of subject to object. Or the relation of subordinate monads to the dominant monad may be said to be a ' functional ' relation as distinguished from what may be called the ' foreign ' relation to other groups of dominant and subordinate monads, and this 'functional' relation is that intimate relation which Prof. Ward describes as 'immediate *rapport*,' or, as others call it, telepathy. An individual organism then may, in truth, be likened to a society of individual human beings where effective co-operation of the members takes place in accordance with their consentience and mutual adaptation rather than through external constraint. In this connexion it remains to ask : how an individual organism, being a commonwealth or society of monads or souls each having perhaps different purposes and interests, act in concert as an individual. Though this question may rightly be dealt with by pointing to the parallel instance of the action of a society where each member or individual is not a law unto himself, and where without ceasing to be individual each becomes subordinate to a super-individual, yet it requires more detailed consideration. Let us take, for instance, the case of an individual acting on the occasion of an external physical stimulus. Though particular parts of the body may be affected, yet an adjustment takes place in the whole organism, and in most cases the organism may be said to re-act *as a whole*. The reaction is purposive having for its aim the well-being of the organism as a whole in the changed situation caused by the stimulus, and this reference to the whole has a particular direction in so far as the dominant consciousness permeates that whole. The mind or soul must not be regarded as merely transcendent to the body, but also as immanent in the body, and such immanence is what Prof. Ward means by the phrase 'sympathetic *rapport*.' It is in virtue of the immanence of the dominant monad in the attendant group of subordinate monads that they interact, and the immanence may, as a concrete principle, be said to be the ground of their co-operation to secure which all their efforts may be said to be ultimately directed. But the relation is not one-sided, for in that case the subordinate monads would lose their individuality and freedom. On the contrary, the kingdom or society of monads may be said to be truly a republic in which each, being a soul, has its own unique interest and purpose and so possesses a distinct place in the commonwealth. These individual interests and purposes cannot be ignored without detriment to the welfare of the whole. This fact is illustrated in our everyday duty of looking after the needs and wants of what is called the bodily organism in order to keep it in tone, the disregard of which would occasion disaster to the whole organism. Such recognition shows the unique place of the body in the economy of what we call our life.

J. K. MAJUMDAR

THE MINSTREL OF BRIDPORT

New England has had her troubadours and her inglorious Villons. With the passing into oblivion of the stagecoach, however, and of laws not too inimical to vagabondage, there slid into the background likewise, obscured by a new screen of decorum and orderliness, that picturesque panel of early American history the chief ornament of which was the itinerant entertainer and wit.

Alexander was a mason by occupation. By inclination he was a scholar and a poet. He had learned his trade early from his father, but while yet an adolescent Alexander had become aware that he could live by his wits if he so desired. Inhabitants of the village in which he was born—a hamlet named Bridport, snug in the Champlain Valley—always greeted the boy with a smile of pleasure. They were amused by his quick tongue and his arrogant devil-may-care manner. At length one of the youth's admirers, a public-spirited citizen of the town volunteered to give the quick-witted Alexander, son of the village mason, a college education.

It was in the days when the stagecoach paused twice daily before the square red hotel in Bridport and relayed its horses. Alexander drove off gaily one day to Middlebury, eight miles distant, where there was a college. But in a few months he was back again in his native village—expelled because of incorrigibility.

The young man's patron was unreasonably wrathful ; but Alexander only laughed. He could be a scholar without going to college, he maintained. And his professors, for their part, willingly admitted that their charge from the tiny inland town had excelled in his studies, albeit he often appeared in their classrooms drunk.

Thereafter the mason-student became a guest of the hotel during the day and a guest in his father's very humble home at night. The proprietor of Bridport's chief hostelry, whose name was Joshua Hill, could not resist the young idler.

"Give me a rhyme in two minutes," he said one day as Alexander stood waiting disconsolately in the bar for the arrival of someone who should buy him a drink. "Give me a rhyme and I'll set you up myself!"

Alexander leaned insolently on the ledge of the bar. He ran his fingers lightly through his mop of glossy black hair. Then with great aplomb he recited the lines of his doggerel—

"'Hill and hell,' he said,
Begin with the same letter.
If Hill were in hell,
Bridport were better.'"

"Well, well!" ejaculated Joshua Hill. "Quick as a flash, wa'n't it? Have some drinks on me—all you want, my boy!"

In truth the old Puritan proprietor, though his personal pride was frequently offended by Alexander's wit, was prone to boast, to all who would listen, of the unusual kind of entertainment his inn afforded its guests. Day after day new arrivals in the village, or transients resting in the coolness of the vast piazza while fresh horses were being obtained, laughed at the young idler's description of the town characters.

"Who is the Crazy Eliza ye mentioned?" a stranger asked, at the conclusion of some story narrated by the mason.

"Eliza," elucidated the minstrel:

"Liza is a crazy bird.
She once had a lover,
Who left with never a word.

"Liza is a crazy bird.
She once had a lover:
But now she sleeps all night
In dewest fields of clover."

There were those in the town who insisted that Alexander was a poet as well as a versifier. They had heard him, they said, mumbling musical lines with a haunting sound and sonorous phrases that might be Latin whenever the churchbell tolled for a funeral; or when a beautiful woman descended magnificently from the stagecoach and stood, like an angel from the heaven, on the green lawn before the hotel, or when a child played in innocence under the wide spreading trees. But if he were asked to repeat the oftspoken verses, Alexander drew himself together with a start, a flash of humour appeared in his deep eyes and the expression of melancholy departed from his countenance.

"I was just saying to myself," he would aver, "that life is a great jest"—

"Life is a joke—
Who's got the joker?
'Come in, my friend,
And stake me
To a game of whisky poker!'"

Alexander's fame spread throughout the country. After a time Bridport saw its native troubadour but rarely. Other towns claimed him for their own. Wherever ale and cider were in abundance, there—well received and at his ease—was Alexander. Families in great manorial homes received him gladly. Many a stormbound night was enlivened for them by this travelling minstrel who said he was a mason but who was in reality a conversationalist and a gentleman of leisure. The vagabond had no money and needed none. He lived bountifully on the bounty of his patrons. For years Alexander flourished in this manner—to all appearances happy, even though life might be no more than a jest and his role in it no more than that of a clown.

As the years rolled by, however, ale and beer and cider assumed an increasingly important place in the troubadour's existence. Eventually certain homes refused to allow admittance to their minnesinger unless he appeared in what they termed a "proper condition." Gradually there were more and more families which did not care to offer their hospitality to the now ageing vagabond unless he were willing to work. And so Alexander occasionally plied his trade from necessity. Yet more frequently he rebelled and slept for days, intoxicated and half-crazed, in some complaisant farmer's hayloft.

The new generation seemed more difficult to amuse than the older generation had been. Each age, Alexander learned, possesses its own variety of humours. There were days now when the wanderer hung his head in shame and begged from door to door. There were other times when he returned to his native hamlet and worked at odd jobs or lived upon the charity of the town. For at this period the stagecoach had disappeared, the rail had left the village entirely isolated and the rambling old hotel which had once belonged to Joshua Hill was fast falling into decay.

In his last years, still dependent on the village for his maintenance, Alexander saw few of his old friends. Most of them had died. Now and then, however, someone remembered him and asked for a song. On these occasions the ancient vagabond's face assumed an expression of joyfulness and his voice took on something of its old timbre. But there was a new acidulousness, too, in the old man's fun.

"I'm on the town," the greyhaired Alexander said, shaking his head in mock mournfulness—

"I'm on the town
But ye needn't laugh.
Many a cow
Has died for her calf.

"Many a man
Has drunk his doom down.
Many a prophet
Has died on the town!"

They gave him space in one of the dim cool cemeteries of the village, under a willow tree. There is no stone to mark his resting place, but the poet wrote his own epitaph and had it inscribed in the Town Clerk's register for posterity. He said :—

" Here lies Alexander,
Who greatly to his ale
Did pander."

" Vagabond and scholar —
He often dined without
His collar."

" The world was all his own
And owes him not so much
As one cold stone."

FRANCES FLETCHER

SEA-PICTURES

The little truant foam-flecked waves
Steal up and kiss the sand ;
And joyous children, fearlessly,
Approach them, hand in hand.
And all that stretch of sea and sky,
And curling waves of white,
And gleaming miles of sun-lit beach,
And gulls in tireless flight,
Are but a picture in their eyes,
Their play-mates, glad and free ;
For childish hearts can reckon nought
Of harvest 'neath the sea.
To older eyes, envisioned there,
The stretches of the deep.
Seem but secretive, sullen graves,
Where countless martyrs sleep.
Oh eyes of youth, divinely blind
To shadows on the sea ;
Oh hearts that throb to joys of life,
But not its mystery ;
I envy you your innocence,
Your freedom and your play !
Alas ! that such gay imagery
Must so soon fade away.
To me, each wave that shoreward rolls,
Brings tidings from the sea,
And list'ning ears may hear them sob
And mourn unceasingly.

Lily S. Anderson

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

There is very little provision in English Technical Schools for training in workshop practice: far less than there is in such places as Roorkee, Sibpur and Benares. No college in England is very far from the workshop of some great commercial firm, and in general it is supposed that workshop training will be obtained, not in the college but in one of these.

College workshops where they exist are seldom large, and are used not for training students, but for the manufacture and repair of laboratory apparatus. This is as it should be in a fully industrialized country.

We have already endeavoured to make it clear that the manipulation of modern machines requires very little skill. Nevertheless a period of years in the workshop is an essential part of every engineer's training. There is much to be learned there that cannot be taught in a school, or at best can only be very imperfectly taught. The truth, a bitter one for the mechanical enthusiast, that a workshop exists primarily, not to make engines, machines, structures, or interesting experiments but to make dividends, is one that can only fully be realized by a close, early and late participation in the process.

The driving force of a modern workshop exposed to commercial competition is no less imperative than the struggle for bread. The atmosphere of strenuous endeavour, of organized discipline, and of efficiency that exists in every successful commercial workshop can never be imitated in a college workshop.

It is also very desirable that a young man who among other things, may have to control labour, should spend two or three years in close and familiar contact with working men as one of themselves. No one will ever understand the mentality of the working man as well as he who has been a working man himself. This feature of a complete workshop training is also absent from the college workshop.

Under modern conditions, in Europe and America a machine, even if driven night and day and absorbing its full value in raw material once or twice a week, is usually obsolete, and useless as an agent of competition, long before it is worn out. This is due partly to the great advances in metallurgy of recent years, and even more to the accelerated pace of invention. In a commercial workshop all machines must be ruthlessly scrapped and replaced by more up-to-date ones about once in every ten years, on an average.

On the other hand, in a college workshop, the machines are never driven as they are designed to be driven; partly because headlong haste is utterly adverse from the spirit of a teaching institution and partly because no school budget could face the terrific consumption of raw material, resulting in a product practically unsaleable because made by beginners. As soon as a student became sufficiently conversant with the machine to make a saleable article at a sufficient speed the natural impulse of a teacher would be to move him on to something new. The result of all this is that a college workshop, after a very few years, contains a quantity of machinery as good as new and more or less obsolete. The money spent on it has been almost entirely wasted.

With one or two ill-advised exceptions therefore, most of the technical institutions in England frame their courses on the assumption that they have nothing to do with the workshop part of an engineer's training. Unfortunately, from India's point of view, they even commonly grant degrees in Engineering, without insisting on proof that the candidate has had adequate workshop training. The Indian student in England restricted both in time and money usually takes full advantage of this, gets an exemption from one or two years even of the college course on the strength of an Indian degree in pure science, and returns the proud possessor of an English degree in Engineering, without any workshop training whatever. Such a man is far less efficient in practice than the ordinary graduate of Roorkee, Sibpur, or Benares who has had a training in all departments including the workshop, though it was of course only a college workshop. Young men sent from India to Europe or America to be trained as Engineers, should usually be sent for workshop training only, if the object is to make them of use to their country. Theory they must have, of course, and lots of it, but that is more cheaply taught in India by a few imported teachers, than by sending the students to England in hundreds. But this should not be taken to mean that it is a mistake to send students to the West in all cases. With the exception of Tata's Metallurgical Works, there is throughout the whole of India not a single really modern workshop. Only those who have seen it can realize the great stride forward that was made throughout Europe during the war. Money was poured out like water in order to fit workshops for an output such as the World had never seen before. Nothing could be more instructive for a really able Indian student than to observe for himself the application of these new methods to the purposes of Peace. But this valuable lesson is entirely missed by a young man of no particular ability who spends all his time in Europe cramming text-books, easily obtainable from any book-seller in India. An occasional visit or even an interval of a few months in a workshop is of very little use. Two or three years is required. The organisation is so complex, mechanically and commercially, that a short visit can produce only a feeling of confusion and discouragement. Ordinary ability will never make anything of it. State assistance for study in the West, so far as industry is concerned, should be confined strictly to those students who have already completed their ordinary training in India and have shown much more than mediocre talent. It should never be sanctioned for the purpose of obtaining yet another paper qualification. It should be always for workshop training. If it is thought expedient, because of the great value that Indians attach to letters after their names, these may be added by Indian institutions, on their return, on the strength of properly documented proof of a considerable period of workshop training abroad. It has become usual for English Engineers who have succeeded in winning a Whitworth Scholarship, to add " Wh. Sch." after their names for the rest of their lives, and this particular ornament is now universally recognized as evidence of very exceptional ability. This indicates how the value of a useful Western training may be acknowledged in India, always provided, of course, that a State Scholarship is never given to a second-rate man. As things are at present a European Degree in Engineering or Technology may, and often does, mean only that the holder has evaded that part of his training without which all his knowledge is of no practical value. Practice without theory is at least useful in subordinate positions. Theory without practice is quite useless in any position. The man who has this kind of training inevitably gravitates into a teacher's post where he hands on his abstract knowledge, still more abstracted from real life.

So far we have stressed that part of workshop training that can be obtained only in a commercial workshop. Where the choice is between a commercial and school workshop the former is always to be chosen. But generally speaking the choice does not exist in India. There are a few exceptions but not many. If no good workshop exists in the district, a College in this country must do its best to make good the omission. Those who organized our best schools have fully realized this and very good and complete workshops are to be found in most Indian Colleges. Most of them do a certain amount of commercial work and have been in a small measure successful in producing somewhat of the commercial atmosphere. Even if that were missing altogether a workshop of some kind is essential. Without it the teaching is wholly unreal.

There are three departments in which theoretical instruction may be made practically effective: the Drawing Office ;

the Laboratory ; and the Workshop. The student who sits down to produce a working drawing of some machine, engine, or structure, provided with no more than a specification of what it must be able to do, becomes immediately aware that courses of lectures, and puzzles in the way of numerical examples, have left enormous gaps in his knowledge. He is driven to read and observe far and wide to fill them, and if he is conscientious in not guessing too much, and in endeavouring to see that every available guidance has been used ; he will greatly extend his knowledge. But when all is done in that way that can be done, he will have before him only a number of solved problems. If his machine were actually built and tested it would at once exhibit as many unsolved ones that he had never even suspected. It is to draw attention to these that a workshop is required. No problem stated in words on paper ever contains more than a few of the most important factors, but this is never realized by a man educated only in calculations leading from exactly stated data to an inevitable conclusion. The difference between such a man and the modern scientific engineer who checks every step in his reasoning by experiment in order to find out how important the neglected data, are ; is of the same nature as the difference between Aristotle and Newton. The first is living in an imaginary world of his own creation, while the second is careful to keep his feet firmly planted on the earth.

Though the laboratory like the workshop exists to preserve contact with reality, its method is quite different. The atmosphere of a workshop is instinct with energy. The object is output and literally "Time is Money." It is not so in the laboratory. There the object is the discovery of truth and time is of very little account. A laboratory exists to inculcate a habit of patient, conscientious, exact observation. Nine out of ten of the great modern discoveries are due to a more careful re-measurement of some quantity that has often been measured before. It is quite wrong to conceive a laboratory as a place where students go through a series of experiments (one every three hours!) co-ordinated with some course of lectures as a confirmation of theory. Such co-ordination is impossible. The theory course sums up the fruits of many centuries of experiment in a few weeks. Students can be hustled into pretending to repeat the experiments also in the same time, but they are really being educated as liars, and in the art of shutting one's eyes to inconvenient facts. A true experimentor is looking for something new and unforeseen. The student performing a course of experiments co-ordinated with a lecture course is looking for something he has been told to expect. Of course he finds it whether it is there or not. He would lose marks if he didn't.

Laboratory training on the right lines, follows no syllabus, and expects no foreseen results. It exacts infinite patience and ruthless honesty. The reactions on the investigator's character are of very great value. It is one of the chief factors of a liberal education such as is required by a leader of national thought. There is nothing in the Indian mind antipathetic to this kind of work. There are on the contrary a number of distinguished examples of success along these lines such as Sir Jagadish Bose, Professor C. V. Raman and many others.

An English visitor to one of the important Indian Engineering Schools is always most impressed by the fact that it contains much more extensive workshops than an English College does, and very poor laboratories, if any. There are two reasons for this: one partly valid, the other indefensible. The first is that the workshop is supposed to serve the purpose of a laboratory. To some extent it does; but very imperfectly. The other is that it has not been supposed until recently that the Indian Engineering Schools would train master men at all. The courses were frankly described as "Subordinate" courses; and naturally a subordinate does not require laboratory work except perhaps as a perfunctory mnemonic for a few simple principles.

Within their preconceived limits, avowed or unavowed, Indian Technical Schools attain a very high standard, especially in Civil Engineering. It is very doubtful if a man who has passed successfully through the Subordinate classes in Roorkee, would learn anything more from the ordinary degree course in Civil Engineering of an English University. The atmosphere would be very different but the standard of instruction little if at all higher. His further progress would be in the laboratory, and perhaps certain aspects of Sanitary and Municipal Engineering.

On the whole it may be said that the teaching of Civil Engineering in India is extraordinarily good and that an English student of an English College in that subject would benefit more by going to Roorkee than a Roorkee graduate would benefit from a course in an English College. Of both it may be said without much error, that the principal gain would be that which always results from extended experience in another country.

Apart from the colleges of or about of University standard there are throughout India many schools teaching craftsmanship and the use of machinery. Certain Christian Missions, notably the American and the Roman Catholic, are doing very good work along these lines. They deserve encouragement in that part of their work, and the gratitude of the country for it ; as they are doing much to raise the standard of craftsmanship wherever they operate.

But we should beware of the fallacy that teaching of mere craftsmanship is the whole, or even the most important, part of technical education, and should not allow it to be assumed that all that is wanted is a great multiplication of institutions teaching skill. India will ultimately have to take her place in the modern world, and as was explained in the beginning the direction of industrial development is away from skill.

If India refuses to accept the machine she may do one of two things. She may exclude the machine-made article by prohibitive duties, in which case the whole of the consuming public will be compelled to pay very high prices for an inferior article.

Or she may open her ports, and see the producers in her own country ruined by a competition impossible to resist.

It will be of no avail that labour in India only costs a tenth as much as in the West. One man armed with power-driven machinery can do the work of a hundred artisans working with their hands. Besides, who that loves India can hope that labour will continue to be cheap. "Cheapness of labour" in this connection is only a euphemism for "misery of the working class."

L. D. COUESLANT.

IMPRESSIONS OF AWAKENED ITALY

During the last three years, I have visited various sections of Italy, with the express purpose of learning what this newly awakened nation of 42,000,000 people, led by Signor Mussolini and his advisers, has been trying to accomplish. My visit to Italy has been to learn and I have learnt a great deal which is a matter of assimilation of the spirit and which cannot be put in black and white. I shall record a few facts about Italy which have international significance.

I. Fascist Regime in Sicily.

The Fascists believe that, what the ordinary man wants is not abstract right but the right to work and enjoy a higher standard of living. They also believe that a man will never make the best effort to produce the most, unless he feels sure that he would be benefited by such efforts. Thus common man wants security, so that he would not be robbed and plundered.

Sicily used to be infested with the Mafias who lived upon plundering law-abiding people. The Fascist regime in Sicily has taken the most vigorous measures to get rid of Mafias in Sicily, so that there will be security for the common man. The Fascist authorities have taken steps to develop water-power and transportation system in Sicily, so that the farmers will be able to harness water-power and also be able to market their products. Sicily has very fertile soil and agreeable climatic conditions, and if it is properly developed agriculturally, it will be able to produce enough food to meet the major part of Italian national demand. Thus in Sicily I found the Fascist regime very active to make Sicily the most precious possession of Italy. The Italian Government is not anxious that the Italians go to foreign countries as common labourers, but it is encouraging the Italians to populate Sicily and develop its resources.

From the stategic point of view, Sicily is the front gate of Italy. It is near to the Dardanelles, Malta and the Suez Canal. It is the great Italian outpost in the Mediterranean and the Italian African possessions. Italy is bound to develop the existing naval bases and air-ports ; and one travelling in Sicily cannot help noticing visible signs of it.

One travelling in Sicily finds evidences of the rich civilization of the Corinthians, Carthegenians, Greeks, Romans, Normans and Arabs. It was from Sicily that Garibaldi with his gallant comrades started to the Italian mainland to carry on the struggle for Italian independence ; and it was to Sicily, near Taormina, that the great Italian hero returned, after finishing his share of the great work, to lead the life of a common farmer. Possibly no part of Europe has seen such an admixture of civilizations of various peoples, as Sicily. It may be said that the Greek civilization penetrated into Europe through Sicily— Sicilian cities of Syracuse and Aggrentium rivalled the great Greek cities of the past. One may find the signs of new life in Sicily which promises to produce a newer and greater civilization there. Sicilian ports nearest to the Orient and Africa will again play an important rôle in the history of the world.

II. Italy's Position in International Politics.

The ambition of Signor Mussolini is to secure for Italy the position of the dominant Power in the Mediterranean and that of one of the Great Powers in the World.

This ambition cannot be realised in a year or even a decade, but there can be no denying that a great deal of progress has been made towards the attainment of this end.

(*a*) *Anglo-Italian Relations.*—It may be said that the cardinal factor in the Italian foreign policy of to-day is to be in virtual alliance with Great Britain. This policy has been deliberately followed by the present regime, not to remain as an adjunct of the British Foreign Office, but to promote Italian interests, through British support and Anglo-Italian co-operation in the field of politics, finance and industry.

Great Britain needs an ally in the Mediterranean and she has chosen Italy in place of France. Just as at the beginning of the twentieth century, Great Britain, facing Russian hostility in the Far East chose Japan, the rising power in the Far East, as an ally, similarly Britain to protect her interests in the Mediterranean and the Near East has chosen Italy as a virtual ally.

Great Britain has made various concessions to Italy in Africa in economic and financial matters ; and in every question of international controversy between Italy and some other Power, Britain has lent her support to the Italian Government. It may be generalised that in various controversies between France and Italy, British support has been with Italy and it is with British support that Italy is contending to assert her position in the Tangier controversy.

Great Britain is no altruist ; what does she expect from Italy? She expects that Italy will not make a common cause with any enemy of Great Britain and in time of emergency the Italian naval power, air forces, man power and strategic positions, may be utilised to protect British interests in the Mediterranean and the Near East. To be more explicit, it may be said that as during the World War, Britain had to concentrate the major part of her navy on the North Sea, while the French protected the Mediterranean, the Japanese patrolled the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, similarly in the near future there may arise situations which will force Britain to concentrate her navy on the North Atlantic and the South Pacific (Singapore Base, etc.) ; then she may have the advantage of Italian co-operation.

(*b*) *Franco-Italian relations.*—The Italian Government, under the direction of Signor Mussolini, feels that Italy should play the rôle of the dominant Mediterranean Power. This attitude has been interpreted as hostile to France. Furthermore Italian Government's demands regarding the rights of the Italians in French African colonies have produced friction between these two Latin powers. France welcomes Italian immigrants to her colonies, but she wants that the children of the Italian colonists, if not the Italian colonists themselves, must function as French citizens; while the Italian Government objects to the French programme of Frenchifying Italians. From the standpoint of international law France has the right, but the Italian Government does not want to lose its citizens who settle in French territories, and thus it wants the Italians and their children to retain Italian nationality.

Then again Italy's Balkan policy is distinctly anti-French, because it hurts France's allies. Italy is not only attempting to resume the rôle of a dominant Power in the Mediterranean, but she has taken the position of a Great European Power, having vital interests in the Balkans. France, in order to maintain her dominant position on the Continent, has made defensive and offensive alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. Italy's Balkan policy is to assume leadership with a group of Powers so that Italy will be predominant in the Balkans and thus French influence will be proportionately reduced in the European Continent. Great Britain approves this policy of Italy, because it would result in Franco-Italian rivalry which would enhance British influence on the Continent.

Following this policy, Italy has established a very close economic relation with Rumania. Italy has made some secret understanding with Hungary which amounts to alliance. This has encouraged Hungary against those States which are not in perfect accord with her. Italy has adopted the aggressive policy of establishing a virtual protectorate over Albania, which is regarded as a threat to Jugo-Slavia. At the same time Italy is trying to win over Greece as well as Turkey to her side by some definite understanding of friendship with these two nations.

(c) *German-Italian Relations.*—Mussolini as a practical statesman cannot ignore the fact that the German people are the strongest racial element or group in Europe. They may be disarmed to-day, but this condition will be changed in course of time. Germany has again become a dominant factor in international commerce. As it was through Prussian support, Italy succeeded to assert her independence, similarly it is clear that if Italy is to become a dominant Power in the Balkans and the Mediterranean (in spite of French opposition) *Italy needs German friendship. Italy, like Great Britain, does not want a virtual Franco-German economic and political alliance ; so the Italian Government is agreeable to German ambitions in those directions which will not affect Italy's position, but might lead to Franco-German estrangement.* For that reason, it is generally regarded that the Italian Government is agreeable to such changes of the Eastern frontier of Germany as will eliminate the Polish corridor. Italy has nothing against Poland, but if Poland as an ally of France and supporter of Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia suffers, Italy has nothing to regret ; on the contrary, it will please her greatly, as it will lead to reduction of French influence in Poland and indirectly in the Balkans and will diminish the chance of a Franco-German understanding.

Italy approves of German aspirations for colonies in Africa, provided that Italy was accorded some territory in Africa or Asia Minor. Germany's re-entry into African politics will not hurt Italy, but it may afford a chance of using German support in Italian African and Mediterranean policy against France.

Italy has annexed South Tyrol with German minorities. Here Italian and German policies are in direct conflict. The German people may not have felt so seriously against Italian policy in Tyrol, if the Tyrolese (German-speaking and thoroughly German in culture) were not forced to be Italianised overnight by the same method which was once practised in Poland by Prussia, Russia and Austria. Italian policy in South Tyrol is to plant more Italians in that region than the German-speaking Tyrolese so that in a few years South Tyrol will be more Italian than German. The German people cannot but resent this policy, *but if South Tyrol is to remain as Italian territory, Italian Government has perfect legal right to follow any internal policy it chooses. However, the South Tyrol question may prove to be as thorny as the Alsace-Lorraine question proved to be with Germany.*

Under the present circumstances, Italy is opposed to German absorption of Austria, because Italy, with the support of Hungary can ignore all oppositions against Italian policy in South Tyrol, but if Germany ever absorbs Austria and follows an anti-Italian policy in South Tyrol, then it would not be so easy for Italy to cope with the situation. As things stand to-day in international politics, it is Italy which needs German support more than Germany Italian aid. Germany has nothing to gain by taking a side in the latent Franco-Italian and Anglo-French rivalry.

(*d*) *Italo-Russian Relations.*—Italy was one of the first European Powers to recognise Soviet Russian Government and to establish commercial relations with it. Italy took this step with the expectation, that she will secure food-stuff and raw-materials from Russia and export her industrial products to that country. But Italian recognition of Rumanian claims in Bessarabia, Italian support to Rumania and Hungary, Italian opposition to Yugo-Slavia and Italian adherence to the British policy in China and other parts of the world, have strained Italo-Soviet relations. Furthermore Fascism is regarded as the bitterest opponent of communism. However, the Italian Government did not break up diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, when Great Britain did. Italy is not interested in hurting Russia, but at the same time she is not interested in supporting the Soviet Government, because the latter cannot aid Italy to improve her economic, industrial and political power. If Turkey, Greece, Rumania, Hungary and Great Britian remain friendly to Italy, it is not probable that Russia without the support of other Powers can ever hurt Italy internationally. As it is reasonably certain that Russia cannot secure support from Germany or France against Italy, the Italian attitude towards the Soviet diplomacy is more of indifference than hostility.

(*e*) Italy is trying to establish unwritten alliance with Spain and Belgium, through marriages contracted by the royal families of Italy with those of Spain and Belgium. It is expected by Italian statesmen that Spanish support to Italy in the Mediterranean and Belgian support in general European politics will strengthen Italy's position as a Great Power.

(*f*) Italy's relation with the United States of America is most cordial. The success of the Fascist regime to wipe out the communist agitation in Italy has impressed the American statesmen and financiers most favourably. It is generally regarded in American financial circles that Italy has not only set her house in order, but the Government of Mussolini has saved Europe from the menace of the spread of communism. Furthermore American financiers have aided the Italian industrialists as well as Government to float loans in America. This has cemented Italo-American friendship. Italy and America have no conflicting interests in international relations; thus Italy is doing her best to secure American economic support to build up her industry and commerce.

(*g*) Since the inauguration of the Immigration restriction policy in the United States, large numbers of Italians are migrating to the South American Republics. The Italian population in the Argentine and other South American Republics is influential, and one of the present tendencies of Italian foreign policy is to augment Italian commercial and financial interests in these countries; thus the Italian Government is encouraging the shipping to South America in every possible way.

(*h*) Italy's relations with Asian countries in general have been friendly. She has maintained cordial relations with Japan and there is every reason to believe that there will be closer collaboration with Japan in International Immigration and Raw Material questions. In the past, Italy tried to secure a sphere of influence in China, but she did not succeed. During recent years, Italy has showed sympathy towards Chinese national aspirations, although Italian naval vessels, as a matter of policy, joined with the British fleet in making a demonstration in Chinese waters.

It is well known that Signor Mussolini was one of the first European statesmen who agreed to terminate the then existing extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam. So it is needless to point out that Italy is friendly to Siamese aspirations as a nation. *I may say with great confidence that although Italy is practically an ally of Great Britain, Italian statesmen and people in general entertain friendly feeling towards the people of India and they desire that India should have her national freedom, provided the Indian people are able to extort it by their own efforts, from their alien masters.* The warm reception accorded to the King of Afghanistan indicates that Italy is anxious to maintain friendship with the liberty-loving people of that country. Italy has no special ambition in Persia, and it is expected that Italian policy will be in favour of terminating extra-territorial jurisdiction of Western nations in that country. Although it is generally regarded that Italy has the ambition to secure some territory in Asia Minor, it may be safely asserted that the present tendency of Italian policy towards Turkey is most cordial.

(*i*) *Italian statesmen are realists and not sentimentalists. They want to make Italy great; and they know that they must not try to accomplish too much within a short time. They also know that they will have to accomplish one thing at a time and much can be done through friendship of various nations than by fighting powerful hostile combinations. Lastly they know that a nation's position in international politics largely depends upon its own actual power and stability of internal condition.* Thus they are bent upon exerting their best energies to promote Italian power, while maintaining friendship with all the nations without sacrificing Italy's vital national interests.

III. Italy's Internal Condition.

The Fascist regime in Italy is carrying on a great experiment in government and industrial development of a nation. I advisedly say that conditions are as hopeful as they can be under an experiment. However, it may be said that the experiment so far has proved to be exceedingly successful.

It may not be out of place to remind our readers that when the Italians fought the Austrians to regain their national independence, Mazzini and his followers thought that they would establish a Republic; but as a matter of practical politics a constitutional monarchy gained the foot-hold in Italy. And it has survived even after the World War, when Italy was under the influence of radical socialist revolutionary leaders. Before the Fascists came to power, the Italian radicals had a chance to demonstrate their ability to administer the country, but they did not prove their ability in that field. Fascists came to power, after a revolution (although not a very violent one) and it is probably going to stay in Italy, and it may leave its mark in the history of civilization, possibly in a far more lasting manner than the effects of the Communist Revolution in Russia.

The Fascist conception of Government is opposed to democracy and it is a form of dictatorship, but it is **not** a class rule based upon the conception of class struggle of the communists. Fascists have applied the theory of syndicalism in Government as well as industry and they extol an individual's duty to the nation far more than an individual's rights for himself. The new conception recognises the difference of functions of various groups in any society, and at the same time it advocates that these groups must co-operate under the leadership of the wisest and the best of their group for the greatest good of the nation as a whole. Thus Fascists have inaugurated the new Corporation Law, a scheme which gives various professional groups representations in the Legislature, as well as to Labour. It denies the right of any individual or any group to carry on any activity which may hurt any other group or the nation as a whole; and on that basis they have prohibited strikes and lock-outs and all forms of industrial warfares including cut-throat commercial competition.

When the above and very brief philosophical outline of the foundation of the Fascist government is taken into consideration, one can easily see that there is no room for an Opposition Party. It demands that all must work for the scheme which will lead to greatness of the nation through increased national efficiency and co-operation of all its members and through hard discipline. Thus the Fascist Government frankly accepts that a government by efficient experts should not be dependent upon the so-called majority of the people, who often do not know what is best for their own interest. It is frankly anti-democratic and anti-Parliamentary in spirit and it is honest when it declares that the security of the state depends upon its power.

The Fascist Government of Italy is working for the greater Italy of to-morrow, and thus it is trying to rouse the younger generation of the nation in every possible way. It has a regular Facist Militia, numbering several hundred thousands and their number is annually augmented by the initiation of new ones. They have the organisation of Fascist youths below the age of eighteen. They are called the "Advanced Guard" (*Avanguardisti*). Then the children are enrolled as Ballila, which may correspond to Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. This year when the ninth anniversary of the foundation of Fascist was celebrated 80,000 Fascist youths of 18 were promoted from the rank of Advanced Guard to regular Fascist Militiamen; and 222,000 boys were promoted from the Ballila class to the Advanced Guard. As things are going on to-day, if the Fascist regime lasts for another ten years, then practically all the able-bodied men in Italy will be trained in national defence and the younger generation—men and women—will be inculcated in the spirit of Fascist which invites all the members of the society to arm for its own preservation.

In the field of national defence and national power, Fascist has done its share so splendidly that the British authorities are deeply impressed with it. While I was in Italy responsible British officials came to Rome to get an idea of Italy's Air Power. It is said that Italy has more than one thousand well-equipped military and naval planes. Italy to-day holds the world's speed record in naval plane. It is an Italian machine entirely manned by Italian crew, under the leadership of General Nobilie, that is now carrying on Arctic exploration. The Italians take great pride in their achievement in aviation. During the month of February 1928 a subscription of over nine million liras was raised to build more military aeroplanes. The condition of the reorganised Italian Army and Navy is splendid; and they will be able to give a good account of themselves in case of necessity.

The Fascist Government is determined to raise the standard of national efficiency through educational reforms of far-reaching consequence. It is doing its best to encourage agriculture in Italy ; and for that purpose, agricultural exhibitions are being held in every part of the country. Tremendous activity is going on in Italy to develop water-power and other industrial projects of great significance. Only the other day the largest hydro-electric plant of Italy was completed at Ponale (Province of Trent) near the northern end of Lake Garda. "It has a maximum productive capacity of 100,000 h. p..... The power developed by the plant will be carried by high-tension cables to Verona, Mantua, Modena and Bologna. It is estimated that in this way Italian industries will save 250,000 tons of coal a year." During my travels through South Tyrol, I found thousands of workmen engaged in developing water-power near Bolzano (formerly Bozen). It is expected that within six months the railroads in Italian Tyrol—especially from the Morean to the Austrian frontier of the Brenner Pass—will be electrified.

Italy is moving fast and the Fascist regime is doing its share for the consolidation of the people as Italians. One of the greatest internal as well as international problems for Italy to solve is the relation of the Vatican with the Italian State. The Fascist regime has done all that is possible to aid the Catholic Church by giving it full recognition in the religious life of the Italian people. But at the same time, Signor Mussolini is determined to prevent Church or religion from meddling in the affairs of the State. This became evident when the Pope recently expressed his disapproval of the Catholic Party offering equal homage to the King and the Pope. Signor Mussolini answered the Pope, with a simple and straightforward order of the dissolution of the Boy Scout Movement of the Catholic Church, and emphasised that the State will not tolerate any meddling of the Church in matters of education of the children.

Italy under Fascism is a great experiment. It is a challenge to the ideal of Democracy, as Communism is a challenge to the Capitalistic order. There is a great deal in common between Facist Italy and Communism so far as the idea of dictatorship is concerned; but Fascism is opposed to Class struggle and preaches the doctrine of united National State led by the wisest and the best of all professions. Fascism is not to be brushed aside as a reactionary doctrine; but its challenge should be seriously studied by the Indian nationalists. If Indian Nationalists are not to be led by mere "catch-words" and dogmatism of a certain kind, and if they are willing to accept all that is best in any country and system of thought, they should study new Italy under Fascism, and adopt those policies which may lead to the establishment of a Free and United India, under the guidance of the wisest and the best.

TARAKNATH DAS

SPECIAL CONVOCATION

VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS[1]

This is not the Annual Convocation of the University and it is therefore neither the time nor the place to pass in review the chief events of the academic year, to place on record our sense of the losses occasioned by departure or by death, to welcome accessions to our strength, or to note expansion in organisation, output in authorship or successes in research. Neither is it the time to throw out any suggestion as to what ought to be the future policy of the University in relation to the clamant needs which have arisen through natural processes of growth, through particular difficulties in the present or adaptation to the changing conditions of the near future. These topics must be reserved for our Annual Convocation when we hope that the general situation will have become clearer than it is to-day.

But I do not think that this Convocation, in spite of its special character, should be allowed to pass without a tribute to the Vice-Chancellor who has so recently laid down his office. We recognise with appreciation the zeal and earnestness with which he strove to realise his ideals for the University and the sacrifices which he so readily made both of his strength and of his time—that time which I have no doubt he would in other circumstances have delighted to devote to the historical researches which have won him renown.

As the beginning of my occupation of this office in the University is of such recent date, perhaps I may be allowed to express my gratitude to the many friends who have welcomed me both by speech and by letter, and to assure them that any delay in acknowledging their kindness is due to the surprisingly large number of congratulations rather than to any lack of appreciation of good wishes and promises of co-operation.

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[1] Delivered by Professor W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 18th August, 1928.

But although this is not the chief Convocation of the year, although the ceremonial is somewhat truncated, and our gathering is not graced by the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor, it is for you, the latest graduates of the University, a day of days; and it would ill become us to minimise the importance of the occasion for you and indeed for all who are associated with you. You have brought to a successful conclusion one period of your lives. You are setting out upon a great new enterprise, and the light-heartedness which is born of the sense of adventure is no doubt chastened by the thought of separation and by a not unnatural apprehensiveness regarding the experiences of a more than usually unpredictable future. But I venture to think that there is also an awakening within you of a sense of responsibility as you realise that there never was a time in the history of your country and of the British Commonwealth of Nations when intercourse between East and West was fraught with greater possibilities either for good or evil. There is still much misunderstanding—quite unnecessary misunderstanding—even between people of the utmost good-will. It will be for you to lessen this misunderstanding amongst the people of the countries to which you go. You will have greater opportunities than the travellers from the West to the East. For while they in their exceedingly rapid journeyings have very limited facilities for observation, and, notwithstanding all good intentions, are constantly liable to grievous and disastrous mistakes, you are going from the East to the West for longer periods of time and will be brought much more intimately into contact with the peoples amongst whom you are to work. You are also at the stage of life when your mind ought to be free from prejudices and preconceived opinions, and I ask you to remember that if there is anything worse than a dogmatic *old* man it is a dogmatic *young* man, for the simple reason that the power of the latter to harm will be so much longer continued. You will undoubtedly meet difficulties, but do not create difficulties by hyper-sensitiveness. Do not carry clannishness to greater length than is warranted by the natural gregariousness of those who inherit a common tradition and belong to the same country. Remember that there are many people ready to welcome you, many of whom are just as shy as some of you may be, and who often cover over that shyness by a stiffness of manner which, though deplorable, is almost wholly unconscious.

You will be regarded as representatives and the future leaders of a country in which the interest of the western world is rapidly becoming both stronger and more intelligent. I can assure you of a welcome from all well-intentioned people in these western communities as you go to them strong in your resolution to uphold the dignity and honour of your race and to show what the best type of Indian students stands for. Remember that you may give as well as receive. War-weariness has left its mark upon many of the western youth. They look rather longingly for fresh idealism and you may have it in your power to contribute a new spirit of faith in life.

But also be ready to learn all that you may from the experiences of others. See every possible variety of life, provided that the variety is not in itself harmful. I think you will find that those,—if there be any—who do not welcome you, are of diminishing importance in their community, and that the more enlightened is the circle of friends you enter the warmer will be your welcome.

Do not be so impressed by differences of manner and custom as to be repelled by these differences. Deeper than the differences lies a similarity of aim in all right-thinking men and women, whether eastern and western. By the disturbance of your own customs and contact with the customs of others, you have the opportunity—denied to the untravelled—of discovering the fundamentals of character. And having discovered them your widening experience will enable you to build upon them an edifice of beauty and of usefulness.

Do not allow yourself, as some have done, to look for the worst in other societies and cast a high light upon it. The purpose of intercourse among the nations surely ought to be, in the words of Matthew Arnold, "Disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world" and this also should be your aim as travelling scholars from India.

You are seeking to continue your education in many different directions,—in law, in economics, in finance, in industry, in art. You are set free from the immediate necessity of earning your living, but you are not set free from the necessity of applying to practical life the ideas with which your education has furnished or will furnish you. I have little patience with the comparison so frequently made between education in India and in the West or with the suggestion that to a greater extent than elsewhere a degree is coveted in this country because of its market value. After a fairly long experience of India I remain quite unconvinced that the connection between education and livelihood is in the long run closer in India than in Britain. Except in a few favoured circles, it is not possible to detach the idea of education from the idea of preparation for gaining an honourable living, and it is a mere affectation to pretend anything else. Indeed, I am inclined to go further and question whether the idea of learning for learning's sake is not rather an empty idea. I am doubtful whether even the purest scholar, unless he is either spiritually or socially selfish, ever loses the longing to apply his learning. To desire truth means to desire to adapt oneself to reality, to prepare oneself for life. It seems to me therefore that it would be possible to regard *all* education as a preparation for life, to conceive of an ideal of education which will get rid of this old rivalry between the so-called higher and lower aims.

To you will be given unique opportunities of carrying forward this preparation for life. And in the midst of this preparation I would suggest that it is necessary to *live*. Do not be mere receptacles of the accumulated experiences of others. Live over again these experiences. Try to assimilate them with your soul so that you come back not, metaphorically speaking, wearing borrowed clothes which will mark you out from your countrymen, which you will either quickly discard or continue to wear with a sense of increasing isolation, but rich in experiences have become your own, part of your life, and which, because of the elasticity of life, you can adapt on your return to the changing conditions of your society. Thus only can you become the leaders and the pioneers you are expected to be. Thus only can you fulfil the hopes which are centred upon you.

In your years abroad be worthy of the homes which have sent you forth. You may come from comfortable homes or from homes where means are scanty, but in either case you are going forth at the cost of sacrifice on the part of those whom you leave behind—whether it be the sacrifice of the comforts of life or the sacrifice which is born of the pain of separation. Be worthy of it all, be worthy of your University which has conferred upon you to-day this degree and "charges you in your life and conversation to show yourself worthy of the same." Be worthy of your Motherland both as she has been and as she hopes to be. Be worthy also of the traditions of the countries which for the next few years are to give you hospitality—I hope ungrudging hospitality—and be worthy of the Universities which are to give you the rich and varied training to which you are looking forward. If you are thus worthy, you will return to your own land, uniting in yourself elements of universal culture to hasten the time when the barriers of the nations shall be broken down in the federation of mankind.

THE FEBRUARY MOON

I was in my own room at night. A sharp knocking—and a man rushed in and asked me wildly if I had seen his missing son. I followed him, but lost all trace of him and forgot all about him in the scene before me.

It was two or three days after the full-moon. When I went out it was all dark. The trees on the road-side had increased the intensity of the darkness. Their sombre silence oppressed me. It seemed as if they had conspired against that unhappy man who must have passed beneath their branches. I left the road and came to the adjoining field.

From behind a distant hill the moon was peeping. A thin veil of white light was over the field. Every moment the light increased and the whole field lay before me covered with silver light. The presence of the moon made my heart light. All this stream of light flowed from a silver disc without diminishing its whiteness. I looked at the sky and there too the same soft light. I enjoyed the full glory without interruption. Not a living soul was there—for whom then was this light meant? I looked around and saw everything was smiling. I looked at my own rags and they appeared fresh. My ebony-coloured limbs had become milk-white. The very stones glittered like so many masses of silver. I spread my garment on the field and let all light fall on it. I stood there drinking the sweetness of the moon.

The hours glided away imperceptibly. The serene mildness of the grassy turf, the mellow splendour of the scenery around, the profound silence of the place and the liquid mass of silver created a panorama fit for fairies and nymphs. It then struck me that perhaps my unholy intrusion delayed the arrival of those aerial beings. I respectfully withdrew from the spot casting a longing, lingering look behind.

RASHRANJAN BASU

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

CHAPTER V.

What Sevagy did before the Arrival of Sextaghan.

Having taken the cities in Cubatghan's jaguir and treasured in such a secure place the vast wealth acquired in that expedition, Sevagy wanted to possess the entire jaguir. He went on extending his conquest and everywhere the populace, even as far as the great city called great Poona, submitted to him without any resistance. He ordered the citizens to take his *Cabul* (security) and asked them to come out to receive it with festivities and presents if they did not want [47] to be ruined, for Sevagy ruined those who did not yield. Here also he ordered houses, tanks, and gardens to be built and he himself assisted in all these works. After nominating a captain in his place (to whom the people submitted and offered presents), he went on foot among the people without being recognised by any of them. Leaning on his sword, he went about taking note of everything that happened ; and he jotted on the palm of his hand all important points which he might (otherwise) forget, and for this purpose he always carried an inkstand with him. Of the whole jaguir there remained only two splendid hills, one called great Punadar and the other, little Punadar. The latter consisted of two peaks, not more than ten paces from each other and much above the clouds. Great Punadar consisted of a hill of still greater height with a tableland half a league in extent at the top and excellent water. With these advantages it was to all appearances impregnable. When Sevagy saw these two hills he felt a desire to make them like similar other sites by building fortresses thereon for the greater security of his person and countless wealth. But the two places were well garrisoned, and, as his attitude (genio) was known, having been already manifested by the capture of Rayguer these two heights had been strengthened. Sevagy surrounded great Punadar with fifty thousand men, but it was like the ancient war of the giants capable of conquering the heaven itself. He tried all the contrivances he could, but when nothing availed and many men had been killed by stones thrown from above. Sevagy resolved to give a turn to the fight by changing steel for silver. He gave the captain a hundred thousand rupees, asking him in the first place whether he expected in his life such a sum from Cubatghan. The fort was delivered and the fight finished. Little Punadar followed the same example, for it appears that even among hills the great provides examples for the small. Sevagy gave money and dresses to the garrison of the two fortresses. Many of them remained in his service, others went away reporting the marvels heard from the people of the country they passed [49] through and Sevagy was pleased with the ease with which everybody submitted to him. Moreover, such was the good treatment he accorded to people and such the honesty with which he observed the capitulations that none looked upon him without a feeling of love and confidence. By his people he was exceedingly loved ; both in matters of reward and punishment he was so impartial that while he lived he made no exception for any person ; no merit was left unrewarded, no offence went unpunished ; and this he did with so much care and attention that he specially charged his Governors to inform him in writing of the conduct of his soldiers, mentioning in particular those who had distinguished themselves, and he would at once order their promotion, either in rank or in pay, according to their merit. He was naturally loved by all men of valour and good conduct. He often went about the highways either alone or with a few companions and conversed about himself with the wayfarers whom he usually met. He spoke very ill of himself and about other things [50] to which they responded (one way or the other) ; (in this way) he used to collect very useful information. If they spoke ill of any measure and the complaint was reasonable, he would at once remedy it, learning on his way the affection or the hatred it caused in the people. In a short time he reached such a state that it was then regarded as a great wonder. It was reasonably regarded as a marvel that more soldiers entered than left his service while he was alive, forbesides being so numerous and of such diverse castes they were the subjects of other kings and themselves not naturally very firm (in their adherence). But what surprises one most is that so many moral virtues should shine in a gentu rebel and a reputed robber. He used to invigilate the soldiers' barracks at night and learn, from what he overheard, the proceedings of his ministers whom he gave high salaries that they might have no excuse for excesses. But they knew that he kept himself informed in every manner. If however, anybody committed an offence, he was punished with surprising promptitude: the hours or the days that intervened [51] between the punishment and the commission of the offence could be in a way calculated according to the distance at which Sevagy was. He used to say, no sovereign who rules should excuse excesses much less those of his grandees, for such an oversight when rightly construed must be regarded as a consent whereby the Kings participate in the crimes of their subjects. When he punishes them he not merely renders justice but avoids evils, which are ordinarily much greater than those he might overlook; and above all, it makes all contented, for when justice is administered equally to all without partiality, it does not cause discontent. With such a procedure of justice, without consulting any jurist, he made his subjects ever happy and his fame rose to such a height that throughout Hindustan it became as dreaded as it was cherished. The fortresses of the two Punadars captured, he made himself master of extensive territories and all immediately hurried with the richest gifts and presents to do obedience to him and take his *Cabul*. He posted his Governors in these provinces; the fortresses were maintained out of the land revenue, specially, [52] the Aduanas (they are dry ports or barren plots of land) yielded him huge sums whereby his treasures were augmented everyday. And when everybody thought that he would make his residence in these extensive and beautiful parts, Sevagy stationed garrisons where he thought necessary and appointed a Governor whom he invested with a splendid revenue that he might shine in majesty making people think that he was Sevagy himself (—this was his ordinary method, but it was executed with a cunning that was unique in the world). He himself left for the district of Sulapoor where by force and cunning he took possession of twelve great and good fortresses. This was in the year 1660, the tenth quarter of his conquest, and he was 29 years of age and possessed sixty-four fortresses with all the lands under their jurisdiction that formed a vast estate. He had 40 fortresses in the Kingdom of Visapur and 24 in that of the Great Mogol. Here was Sevagy, when in October at the end of the winter, the army of Sextaghan arrived at Guner (in those parts) and was quartered there, while [53] Cubatghan took account of his vassals for not resisting Sevagy and submitting to him in such a hurry. At the sight of this army Sevagy's men immediately dispersed (for such was the order that Sevagy had left, as he did not like to engage with such a powerful army in the open field) and retired where their master was.

The Mogol army refreshed itself from the strain of such a long march till the middle of November while Cubatghan effected the cold remedies he found necessary to build afresh the great treasure of which Sevagy had robbed him.

CHAPTER VI.

What happened between Sextaghan and Sevagy.

The Mogol army moved towards the country conquered by Sevagy. They marched with remarkable vigilance, in constant fear of Sevagy's wiles. Sextaghan contented himself with waiting for the fitting up of one tent only, because the practice of fitting up another was not observed here. No one else was stationed in the vanguard, he himself marched in the van and everything went all right and with so much order that it amply illustrated the opinion he had of his adversary. But in spite of all these precautions, he said or planned nothing that Sevagy did not immediately learn.. Sevagy knew how to make new friends with money, and, like his wealth, his friends were innumerable, and they sent him information every hour. He was at great Punadar, but Sextaghan had not marched one league when he saw ten thousand horse of Sevagy, arrayed in four divisions assault his army on all sides. The Mogol army also marched in separate detachments to make room for the numerous baggage, women and beasts, of which the camp was composed. For this reason none left their place, for each company guarded what belonged to it. The Mogols were in this suspense and difficulty when the troops of Sevagy inflicted a heavy loss upon them with dexterous expedition. They [55] assaulted one division and retired, but in the same manoeuvre fell upon another. The Mogols could not divine wherefrom they came, for it appeared as if Sevagy were everywhere; the confusion in the army became in this manner very great. By these onslaughts Sevagy used to take plenty of spoils besides killing many men, and as his appearance and disappearance were effected in an instant, every foot of the thicket made Sextaghan halt, for each presented some unusual aspect, without examining which he would not move.

At the place where the Mogol army was to encamp (as we have said, this is decided by the place having a good water-supply), appeared eight thousand horse commanded by Neotagy, Sevagy's uncle and contriver of ambushes. Besides the eight thousand horse Neotagy had posted two thousand on two sides of the road which the Mogol army had to take, but they were placed in such thick forests that this reserve caused no suspicion.

When the Mogol army saw these eight thousand horse in the place where it was found necessary to encamp, the vanguard halted, and hardly had word passed as to what should be done, when they (the Sevagies) charged with passionate fury in order to sweep the Mogols under their horses, and the field was filled with shouts and uproars and the soldiers were so confused that they fell upon one another with tumult and fury. When the Mogols imagined that they had caught them, the Sevagies divided themselves into four parties and fled each in a particular direction. In such a manner could they steal a manoeuvre that the Mogols were stupefied and, stumbling upon one another, they could not reach those they sought. After a few manoeuvres at a great distance the Sevagies turned to unite, in order that the Mogols should pursue them under the impression that they constituted the whole force (of Sevagy) ; for once afar, they would not be able to succour the baggage for which the two thousand hidden horse had been destined. This plan was nicely executed ; for Sextaghan pursued them, thinking that was the whole army of Sevagy, which he wanted to destroy that very day. And when it seemed that the proper time had arrived, out came the two thousand and assaulted [57] the immense baggage, which was immediately invested to the great confusion of all.

The circumstances that largely contributed to this confusion were that the baggage was invested on both sides and that the sun had already gone down. The loss was very great. They (the Maratas) took thousands of loaded camels, many elephants, innumerable horses and everything that they could, killing all whom they met, while the other thousand removed the spoils. What they could not take was left on the ground, but they removed the beasts of burden. And in these, more than in anything else, the army suffered the greatest loss. The frustrated army then retired, as Neotagy had conveniently vanished in a moment. But when they arrived at the former place and saw the destruction the

Maratas had wrought, they could not hold their surprise and sorrow. That night they went without food in the inclement weather, for the servants did not appear and most of the tents had now passed into Sevagy's possession. Moreover, they passed (the night) with arms in hand, for the very leaves that moved seemed to them to be Sevagy's men. Their conversation consisted of nothing but the bad omen [58] of such a bad beginning. They did not know how to speak too highly of the tricks of Sevagy, for this mode of pillage, said they, were unknown to them, and they concluded by saying that Sextaghan will put an end to this method. Soon the most pitiable sight presented itself: the camel drivers and other servants who had fled or escaped began to arrive, and all in the army uttered shouts of surprise, for some of them came without their arms, others crippled, others with head uncovered and all without their charge, which was the most important thing. That night, Sextaghan slept in a very small tent, for he had to go without his accustomed pomp; with the usual arrogance of a Mogol, he blasphemed and swore that Sevagy would have to pay for all these with interest, but in spite of so much arrogance he had to experience to his cost Sevagy's stratagem and cunning now and afterwards.

On the following longed-for morning Sextaghan sent thirty-thousand horse to traverse the whole field and gather the wrecks of the previous night. Both men and beasts excited pity and all were led [59] to the main army which through fear they had been prevented from joining the previous night. The day was spent in searching the field, healing the wounded and burying the dead, among whom was not found a single one of Sevagy's men,—they were better acquainted with the night when they delivered so many and so repeated assaults that offered Sextaghan much cause to fear. The army then set out for Puna in the field of which city, as we have already said, Sevagy had built a palace, and tanks and gardens. In the same palace, Sextaghan took up his residence, for everything was found as it was when Sevagy lived there. Another stratagem that Sevagy always had recourse to, and from which he derived no small gain, was based on the knowledge he had of the most secret entries and exits of the house, fashioned purposely for this enterprise, and things happened afterwards quite in accordance with the plans already made. All the districts of this province asked for Sevagy's counsel as to what they should do under the circumstances. If he wanted them to defend themselves against the Mogols, they were ready, if not, they would wait upon his specific orders. He replied that all should take the *cabul* [60] of Sextaghan until he ordered otherwise. So they did and remained secure from both sides. Here in this district, there is a large estate with an extensive jurisdiction, the lord of which is a Bracmane Gentio, truly worthy of being mentioned here. This estate and jurisdiction of his were so privileged for Mouros Gentios and all (other) castes that though there were many wars no soldier entered it except in peace. This is why this settlement became the General Hospital of India. Whoever came there, whatever he might be, found food and shelter with liberty to stay as long as he liked, for this Bracmane said that there were some to whom God gives wealth to share with others. And he behaves as if his great revenue belonged all to the poor. And as this virtue and liberality are not now common to men, there are none in Indostan who do not revere this Bracmane on this account; the armies that pass by this way, and they are not few, have for him the same respect as if he were the only man in the world. And as there are in these parts castes who do not eat anything unless it is cooked and prepared by one of the same caste, he has cooks of all castes so that no one may excuse himself on this account, for he gives to each man what has been dressed by a person of his own caste. Moreover, he has got spies to prevent anybody from evading his hospitality. The first time Sevagy passed through this place, the Bracmane sent to his kitchen all that was necessary for ministering to the grandeur of his table, as Sevagy did not like to go to his house. As he did not excuse others, the Bracmane sent a message with those things, saying that he should slight nothing, for all men are poor and receive in this fashion what pertains to him, for God gave him his property to share with all. The name of the Bracmane was Ramagy, and God wanted to enlighten him with His pity so that so many deeds of charity might not be lost. Let us now turn to our subject. The general Sextaghan was receiving throughout that region people who submitted to him and granting pardon to those who returned to the allegiance of their sovereign. And it seemed to him that he had [62] finished Sevagy thereby, but experience proved the contrary. Sevagy sent from Punadar several parties of his men, whose sudden and short attacks always caused loss of horses, camels and oxen and many casualties, and even Sextaghan was surprised that Sevagy never suffered any loss; and this was due to the execution of the order, that they should never (permit themselves to) be caught but should do what they could without risk and, having done so, should immediately leave with all the booty, for Sevagy said that he prized the lives of his soldiers above all the interests of the world. They delivered an assault, robbed and killed whom they met, and by the time the Mogols were mounted, not a single enemy could be seen, and they stood stupefied listening only to the complaints of the wounded, robbed and despoiled.

Sextaghan tried to besiege great Punadar where Sevagy had retired, but there was such a slaughter and the besieged treated the Mogols with such derision that Sextaghan was convinced of the error [63] he had committed and at once retired to the very lodging he had left, contenting himself, as he passed through the country, with the destruction of some places that did not like to renounce their obedience to Sevagy at any cost; but he (Sextaghan) did not return from these enterprises as (gloriously) as he had set out, for he could not even distract Sevagy who had taken from the Mogol army double of what they had robbed in these places, for these places had all the necessaries of life and the army of Sevagy always executed his orders well. Sextaghan informed the great Mogol of everything. He (the great Mogol) found that one year had passed and his army had fruitlessly suffered great loss in these parts, and he tried to strengthen his uncle with fresh reinforcement which he sent with the utmost expedition.

SURENDRANATH SEN

W. B. YEATS

VII

SYMBOLISM.

Conditions favourable to Symbolism; its justification and uses.

The extravagant spirit we have noticed in Nerval, Villiers-de-L'Isle Adam, Verlaine and Baudelaire found sustenance in the widespread deep discontent with the social and moral order of their day. In politics anarchy and nihilism, in the social order the dreams of socialists and communists, in philosophy the fascinating pessimism [1] of Schopenhauer and in literature a revolt against romanticism were the signs of the times. The hard, clear-cut, lucid scientific spirit of Taine's ideal of art criticism and the classical urbanity and cosmopolitan liberalism of Sainte-Beuve produced a sudden re-action and revolt in the Symbolists who with great gusto relished the fascinating charm of a vague and suggestive mysticism. Artists and poets rebelled against the galling yoke of the oppressive supremacy of analytical science and the positive spirit of determinist philosophy.

Symbolism was in its purest form a reaction against this deadening influence and a re-assertion in artistic form and through an aesthetic medium of the right place of metaphysical ideas in poetry. All critical controversies over this vexed question notwithstanding, the irresistible fact stands out beyond all dispute that mysticism and the symbolic interpretation of all ultimate problems of man's existence have their eternal justification and claim on our serious attention in the deep and abiding mystery of Nature which surrounds man to-day as much as it did at the dawn of civilisation. Man's is a perpetual quest of the unseen, the unknown, the unexplored. The great French critic Brunetière rightly observes that symbolism is a profoundly human need. Professor A. N. Whitehead (none too friendly towards symbolism) in his " Symbolism : Its Meaning and Effect " (1927), is compelled to admit that however you may endeavour to expel symbolism, it ever returns. And why? Because he too knows that " Symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degeneration ; it is inherent in the very texture of human life. Language itself is a symbolism." Even in the most modern form of Government and in the very doctrine of human equality Symbolism does appear. " Mankind," he observes, " it seems, has to find a symbol in order to express itself. Indeed 'expression' is 'symbolism.'"****" The function of the symbolic elements in life," he argues, " is to be definite, manageable, reproducible, *and also to be charged with their own emotional efficacity* : symbolic transference invests their correlative meanings with some or all of these attributes of the symbols, and thereby *lifts the meanings into an intensity of definite effectiveness*—as elements in knowledge, emotion, and purpose***. ****" In every effective symbolism there are certain aesthetic features shared in common. The meaning acquires emotion and feeling directly excited by the symbol. This is the whole basis of the art of literature, namely that emotions and feelings excited by the words should fitly intensify our emotions and feelings arising from contemplation of the meaning."***" The same principle holds for all the more artificial sorts of human symbolism :—for example, in religious art. Music is particularly adapted for this symbolic transfer of emotions."*** "This whole question of the symbolic transfer of emotion lies at the base of any theory of the aesthetics of art."***" Thus mankind by means of its elaborate system of symbolic transference can achieve miracles of sensitiveness to a distant environment, and to a problematic future." (Italics mine)[1].

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[1] Maeterlinck acknowledged his indebtedness to Schopenhauer " qui arrive jusqu'à vous consoler de la mort " and triumphed over his pessimism.

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[1] Chapter III on " Uses of Symbolism."

To what extent Yeats felt this human need mentioned by Brunetière will clearly appear from his "Rosa Alchemica" which bears witness to this important aspect of his artistic life.

He says, for instance, how from his Dublin ancestral house he once removed "portraits of more historical than artistic interest" and "shut out all history and activity (represented by tapestry) *untouched with beauty and peace.* When, again, he pondered on his Francesca or on the rose in the hand of the Virgin he knew *a Christian's ecstasy without his slavery to rule and custom.*"

The antique gods and goddesses in bronze gave him "a pagan's delight in various beauty." His books (Shakespeare, Milton and Dante) gave him an idea of *human passions* without their bitterness. All this he characterizes as the triumph of the imagination and, he adds, "To my mind, *for which symbolism was a necessity,* they seemed the door-keepers of my world, shutting out all that was not of *as affluent a beauty* as their own." Regarding this necessity he says once more in the poem "Upon a Dying Lady" (Section VI)—

> "When her soul flies to the predestined dancing place
> (*I have no speech but symbol,* the pagan speech I made
> Amid the dreams of youth) let her come face to face" etc.

Symbolism seeks to reveal and embody what is elusive and impalpable to man's sense perception however acute and powerful it may be made with the modern aid of the marvellous achievements of science. (Italics mine).

Vision *vs.* Science: (*cf.* "The Song of the Happy Shepherd" in "Crossways).

"Symbolism," says an art-critic, 'makes physically manifest to all what is spiritually accessible only to few.' In poetry highly subtle metaphysical truths that swim into the inspired gaze of the poet as seer in exceptionally ecstatic moments of intuitive vision, vouchsafed by God to sages and prophets, become captured for common humanity and embodied in beautiful images and made sensible to the heart of appreciative readers in whom delicate sensibility to the touch of the beautiful and the sublime has not been dulled by the maddening fret and fury of worldliness. The symbolist poet has a rare delight in the concord of melodious sounds and in a haunting sense of mystery. "The long sobs of the violins of autumn wound," says Paul Verlaine "my heart with a monotonous langour—I remember ancient days and I weep and glide along on the wind wafting me like a dead leaf." The same note is also struck by Shelley, as we all know, in his passionate lyrical appeal to the West Wind (1819)—

Symbolism and Mystery.

> "Oh! lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
> I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!
> A heavy weight of hours has chained and bowed
> One too like thee; tameless, and swift, and proud."

A very heated controversy took place towards the close of the last century in the *Dublin Daily Express* over this new movement and Yeats then significantly remarked that the arts will be more and more liberated and made free to lose themselves in beauty and to busy themselves with old faiths, myths and dreams.[1] To quote his very words—"I believe that all men will more and more reject the opinion that poetry is a criticism of life and be more and more convinced that it is a revelation of a hidden life." We get an important clue to his own ideal as a poet in his "Ideas of Good and Evil" (1903) where he remarks:—

The Symbolist's Definition of Poetry.

"I remember that when I first began to write I desired to describe outward things as vividly as possible. Then quite suddenly I lost the desire. I did not then understand that the change was from beyond my own mind but I understand now that writers are struggling all over Europe......against that externality which a time of scientific and political thought has brought into literature." (This great change is described by Arthur Symons as the Symbolist Movement. It has to be admitted that Yeats was to a great extent influenced by the French Symbolists though he is unnecessarily dragged by some critics into their coterie.) Let Yeats himself speak in his "Ideas of Good and Evil." (1903) — "All art that is not mere story-telling or mere portraiture is symbolic * * for it entangles in complex colours and forms a part of the *Divine Essence.*"

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[1] *Cf.* "Ideas of Good and Evil."

Now, according to Mr. Clive Bell all works of art provoke a peculiar emotion which he calls aesthetic emotion by means of significant form or relations and combinations of lines and colours (in the case of visual art) and in answer to the question "What is the significance of anything as an end in itself?" he says that this is what philosophers used to call "the thing-in-itself" and now call "ultimate reality." Therefore the conclusion is that men are profoundly moved by significant form because artists can with its help express an emotion felt for reality which reveals itself through line and colour (in the case of painting). It will follow, he adds, from the acceptance of such a hypothesis that significant form is form behind which we catch a sense of ultimate reality. "When we consider anything as an end in itself, * * * we become aware of its essential reality, of the God in everything, of the universal in the particular, of the all-pervading rhythm. Call it by what name you will, the thing that I am talking about is that which lies behind the appearance of all things."

This metaphysical hypothesis of aesthetics has its application to artistic symbolism. Mr. Bell later on indicates practically such an application when he asserts (in the section on Art and History) that "this sense of reality leads men to attach greater importance to the spiritual than to the material significance of the universe..............We shall expect to find the curves of arts and spiritual fervour ascending and descending together." This inter-relationship is elaborated in the chapter on "The Christian Slope." The Pre-Raphaelite method, at its best, Mr. Bell holds to be symbolism but his estimate is anything but high of the French Impressionists and we have seen how Yeats's symbolism is connected with Impressionism. He next shows, however, where symbolism fails (in the section on Simplification and Design) as applied to painting.

Let me now refer to a few instances of Yeats's well-known symbols occurring in his poetry.

(1) In his "Wanderings of Oisin" (1889) and in the poem "He mourns for the change, etc., and longs for the end of the World" the hound is an image of the desire of man for woman and the deer that of woman for man and the west where the sun sets is symbolic of darkness and death.

(2) In "Adam's Curse" (Poems of 1899-1905)—The moon symbolises weariness.

(3) In "Shadowy Waters" (1900) grey birds are souls of men in search of divine love.

(4) The poems in "The Wind among the Reeds" (1899) are mostly symbolical to such an extent that their inner meaning had to be explained by the poet in elaborate notes. Even his poetry of Nature now becomes highly mystical and unseen presences are always flitting through the twilight haze of mystery and sweet everlasting voices are heard everywhere in the meditative solitude of the soul.

> "Water is the symbol of the vanishing of mortal beauty ; the sea of drifting indefinite bitterness of life. The curfew's cry is that of lost love and old night tells her mystery to the sad, the lonely, the insatiable."

The Rose.

But the universal symbol is the[1] Rose reminding us of Dante's mystic rose in his Paradiso, Canto XIII. His own notes in his Early Poems and Stories issued in May 1925, run thus :—

"I notice upon reading these poems that the quality symbolised as the Rose differs from the Intellectual Beauty of

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[1] *Cf.* "The Secret Rose" (1897).

Shelley and of Spenser in that I have imagined it as suffering with men and not as something pursued and seen from afar.''

Symbolic imagery reappears even in his latest volume of poems called *The Tower* (1928) and we are told that ''the half read wisdom of daemonic images'' does '' suffice the ageing man as once the growing boy.'' He is, we further learn, satisfied with the mythological poet's comparison of the solitary soul to a swan and elaborates that symbol in '' Nineteen-Nineteen.''

The image of a polished mirror reflecting external realities and symbolizing man's clear intellect and reason frequently occurs in both his poetry and prose.

Symbolism is very largely used in '' The Phases of the Moon,'' one of the pieces in ''The Wild Swans at Coole'' (1919), which, in my view, is not *poetically* of much value, however important it may be as a ''document.'' It refers to the prose pieces written before 1897 in which Aherne and Robartes figure and is a half-allegorical presentation of the stages in the growth of the human soul in the form of a dialogue between Aherne and Robartes regarding Yeats himself who is represented as buried deep in his mystic studies carried on at a place selected

'' Because, it may be, of the candle light
From the far tower where Milton's Platonist
Sat late, or Shelley's visionary prince ;
The lonely light that Samuel Palmer engraved
An image of mysterious wisdom won by toil ;
And now he seeks in book or manuscript
What he shall never find.''

Here is a '' mystic '' hint.

We are told '' he has found mere images''—meaning symbols of things. Then Robartes sings the changes of the moon—showing how man develops from the first crescent to the half moon through ''adventure'' and when the moon is rounding to the full becomes subject to a ''whim most difficult among whims not impossible" till " his body moulded from within his body grows comelier."

" The thirteenth moon but sets the soul at war
In its own being, and when that war's begun
Here is no muscle in the arm ; and after
Under the frenzy of the fourteenth moon
The soul begins to tremble into stillness
To die into the labyrinth of itself."

"For, there's no human life," we learn, "at the fall of the dark." Then follows the song on "the strange reward of all that discipline." Now,

" All thought becomes an image and the soul
Becomes a body " * *
" Too lonely for the traffic of the world :
Body and Soul cast out and cast away
Beyond the visible world."

Then the vicissitudes of life shape this body and soul till at last

" Their beauty dropped out of the loveliness
Of body and soul "

(*i.e.*, of those that we have loved) and " the lover's *heart* knows that " (Italics mine.)

Men shudder and hurry by at the sight of these creatures of the full moon :

" Body and soul
" Estranged amid the strangeness of themselves
Caught up in contemplation, the mind's eye
Fixed upon images *that once were thought*,
For separate, perfect, and immovable
Images can break the solitude
Of lovely, satisfied, indifferent eyes."

Next follows " the crumbling of the moon " and all is changed, the soul now is the world's *servant* " choosing whatever *task* most difficult among tasks not impossible" and is reduced to a drudge. For, " before the full it sought itself but afterwards the world "—reformer, merchant, statesman, learned man, dutiful husband, etc., are the parts, all deformed because all deformity saves us from a dream. Then follows an account of those set free by the last servile crescent—they are cast beyond the verge, desireless, incapable of distinguishing good from bad, " deformed beyond deformity "—being unformed like the dough not yet baked, changing their bodies at a word. Next follows a series of rebirths. The last crescents are, we are finally told, "the hunchback and saint and *fool*." (Italics throughout mine.) We have here the old mystic story of the fool, the blind, the decrepit and aged being really the wisest. We have in this series (towards the end) four poems significantly entitled " The Saint and the Hunchback," " Two Songs of a Fool," "Another Song of a Fool " and " The Double Vision of Michael Robartes."

In his prose pieces in "The Celtic Twilight" there are references to many symbols.

For instance, we are told that " a globe of iridescent crystal" is a symbol of the soul. In "Rosa Alchemica" the crimson colour is represented as typifying a passionate life. Other symbolic colours are referred to in connection with the leather-bindings of the books in his Dublin house—" Shakespeare in the orange glory of the world, Dante in the dull red of his anger, Milton in the blue grey of his formal calm." The grey colour of the angels is explained as due to their " love for a God of humility and sorrow."

In the " Adoration of the Magi " the symbol of the unicorn represents what is "cold, hard and virginal " and it is " born dancing " and vanishes quickly because it " understands the shortness of life." It is born to a young woman (in Paris) who is selected as their chosen vessel by the Immortals who would " overthrow the things that are to-day and bring the things that were yesterday " because she is "one whom the things that are to-day have cast out " and " in whose body all desires have awaked ;"—"this woman who has been driven out of Time and has lain upon the bosom of Eternity." While this dying woman's spirit was going out of her body she murmured a name—" the name of a symbolist painter she was fond of, who taught her to see visions and to hear voices."

The symbol of apes devouring with insatiable hunger green and crimson stones (in " The Eaters of Precious Stones ") represents " the Hell of the artist " for "all who sought after beautiful and wonderful things with too avid a thirst" (as did Shelley and Keats, we remember), " lost peace and form and became shapeless and common." Another suggestive symbol in the same piece is that of demons of all shapes sitting about a black pit (like the artist's Hell which was Yeats's Hell too) and " looking at the moon-like reflection of the Heavens which shone up from the depths of the pit."

There are many hints to be found in his prose writings such as the essays in " Celtic Twilight " on " Helen's Eye," "A Voice," " The Untiring Ones," " The Queen and the Fool " and " The Old Town."

His belief in things occult is clearly indicated by " Earth, Fire and Water."

In the " Coming of Wisdom with Time " we read " Though leaves are many, the root is one " presenting Indian monistic thought *symbolically* and in the piece " Concerning the nearness of Heaven, Earth and Purgatory " we have the very significant remark—

" In Ireland this world and the world we go to after death are not far apart * * * Indeed, there are times when the worlds are so near together that it seems as if our earthly chattels were no more than the shadows of things beyond." Elsewhere (" The Queen and the Fool ") he says " what else can death be but the beginning of wisdom, power and beauty." * * *

Symbolic mode.

But the best illustration of his *symbolic method* is in the symbolic drama of the "Shadowy Waters," which stands for the quest of the ideal of divine love. A romantic charm of delicate imaginings full of colour and the delicious drowsiness of autumnal beauty spreads over the whole piece as a fleecy cloud floating over the blue heavens. It is mystic through and through, and tries to convince us that the world of dreams is the real world and that of sense-perception a mere make-believe—a shadow show of mere reflected image of Reality on the mirror of worldly knowledge.

Forgael yearns for the dreams of love but his disciple Aibric is too practical to yield to idealism. Inspiration comes to the master from the fairy lovers Ængus and Edain and he has a glorious vision of the perfect bliss to be. Mysterious creatures appear who possess wisdom and marvellous is the power of Forgael's magic harp having "druid spell" in it. He puts love into the queen's heart for Iollan who after all is his *alter ago* (and he finally reveals this identity). Crying birds in their flight over the sea to the West symbolically beckon Forgael and Dectora (the queen), exactly as in "Prometheus Unbound" spirit voices invite Asia to "follow, follow," to a country at the world's end full of unimaginable happiness that knows no end. Forgael's frenzy is bred in him by the eternal gods called here "the immortal mockers of men, the shape-changers, the Laughing Ones" and he is resolved to go to the end. Finally, Dectora's firm fidelity to remain at all costs with Forgael brings the reward of true faith—the divine joy of being alone with her beloved for ever and for ever till through pure love, staunch in life as in death, they both grow immortal and the world drifts away from them into nothingness.

"The Hour Glass" (in verse, first performance, 1912) is another mystic-symbolic drama of which the importance is great for readers of Yeats. Here "the Fool" is shown to be really wiser than "the Wise Man" whose salvation is brought about by his conversion into that Faith in the unseen or supersensuous which he had killed in his pupils, his wife and children and generally his countrymen, by his philosophical scepticism, negation of faith, dependence on Reason and the senses. Emphasis is laid on dreams, trance, feeling (as opposed to seeing or arguing). Finally, the Wise Man's conversion leads him to assert that " there is a spiritual kingdom that cannot be seen or known till the faculties whereby we master the kingdom of this world wither away like green things in winter." This distrust of the Intellec tas a will o' the wisp suggests, of course, the mystic's way. " New sight " comes to this so-called wise man " through a crisis of the spirit " when an angel visits him with a message. Man's pessimism is explained as due to the frequent sight of

" Parting, sickness, and death
The rotting of the grass, tempest, and drouth."

Perfect surrender to God's will through untroubled Faith solves the mystery and ensures salvation.

(To be continued.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Kramrisch: Visnudharmottaram—A Review relating to Painting and Sculpture in the Scheme of Education in Ancient India.

The Vedic lore, with its *Anga* and *Upánga* branches, was a preserved monopoly for the twice-born, who, however, formed only a small minority of the entire population of Ancient India. The need, therefore, for another medium,—less exclusive, more popular, and better suited to the necessity and capacity of all—appears to have been felt as real need from the very outset, giving rise to the growth of a vigorous literature in non-obsolete Sanskrit, capable of imparting knowledge in all matters connected with the spiritual and temporal concerns of life.

This came to be called, by way of contrast, *Sárva-varṇikam*, open to all castes alike. In the solicitude with which this was introduced and encouraged, may be found the real clue to the true character of Indian Culture, uncontaminated by any trace of meaningless bigotry and aggrandisement of classes at the sacrifice of any real interest of the masses.

As most people were without any knowledge of the art of reading and writing, this general scheme was further expanded to include devices for imparting popular education without the need of any artificial literary medium by provisions of theatrical representations on the stage, of pictorial displays of painting and sculpture, from the cottage to the palace, and from the humble cell of the hermit to the most ostentatious temples ever built by the piety and liberality of Man, and also of recitations of books specially selected for the purpose.

The subjects, thus brought almost to the door of every one, were sometimes collectively called the Fifth Veda, to clothe them with the same dignity as was enjoyed by the Vedas proper. *Bharata*, in the *Nátya-Sástram* ascribed to him, noted that *Brahmá* was induced to create the Fifth Veda at the request of the Devas. That the purpose of painting and sculpture, as well as of recitation, was the same, appears incidentally noted repeatedly in Sanskrit literature, general or special. Recitation, originally limited to texts composed in Sanskrit, came gradually to be extended to compositions in all the vernaculars of the provinces, in which form they may still be noticed to exist.

The original etiquette regarding these recitations required adoration of *Náráyaṇa*, *Nara*, *Narottama*, and *Devi Sarasvatī* before the recitation commenced. The name of *Vyása* came also to be added to the list. This direction appears in the beginning of all works authoritatively selected for recitation. They were collectively called by a common name *Jaya* (literally victory) ; but the technical sense in which it was used in this connection, may be found noted in this class of literature, and is well known to the orthodox Hindu.

Occidental scholars did not notice the significance of this scheme of popular education. One of them, Pargiter, in his translation of the *Márkaṇḍeya-Puránam,* took the word *Jaya* only in its literary sense as equivalent to 'victory.' The *Bhaviṣya Puránam*, accepted by him as an old authority, says, that the sages called some writings by the name of *Jaya*, namely (*i*) the Eighteen Puránas, (*ii*) the *Rámáyaṇa*, described as *Charitam* of Ráma, (*iii*) Śástras commencing with the *Viṣṇudharma,* (*iv*) *Sivadharma,* (*v*) *Sauradharma and Mánavadharma,* (*vi*) the whole of the Fifth Veda known by the name of the *Mahábháratam.*[1] The list shows that all the *Mahá-puráṇas,* eighteen in number (including the Viṣṇu), were selected as works of the *Jaya class,* and so were some of the *Upa-Puráṇas* which contained works with the name of dharma attached to them, such as *Viṣṇudharma, Siva-dharma, Sauradharma,* and *Mánavadharma.* This makes the *Viṣṇu Puráṇam* and the *Viṣṇudharma* two different works, separately selected as a Jaya-book for the purpose of recitation.

Whatever might have been the reason, the *Viṣṇudharma* came to be popularly regarded as the Appendix to the *Viṣṇu Puráṇam,* and this appeared in the colophon of many manuscripts which have come down to us. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* is again regarded by some to be the same as the *Viṣṇudharma* itself, although many compilations show quotations with both names noted separately.

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[1] अष्टादशपुराणानि रामस्य चरित तथा ।
विष्णुधर्म्मादि शास्त्राणि शिवधर्म्माश्च भारत ॥
कार्ष्णश्च पञ्चमो वेदो यन्महाभारतं स्मृतं ।
सौराश्च धर्म्मराजेन्द्र ! मानवोक्ता महीपते ॥
जयति नाम एतेषां प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

According to this the technical name *Jaya* indicated selected books of different classes including eighteen Puráṇas, one biography, several *śástras* such as the Viṣṇudharma and others and the whole of the fifth Veda popularly called the Mahábháratam. The Viṣṇupuránam, according to this, appertained to the class called puráṇam, while the Viṣṇudharma appertained to the class called Śástras, and the Rámáyaṇa belonged to the class called charitam or biography.

The *Uttaram* indicates, according to the context, a subsequent part of the same work ; and although in this sense the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* may be regarded to be the same as the Viṣṇudharma itself, yet history may find here reason to halt, and try to discover if this does not indicate a time later than that of *Viṣṇudharma*.

In the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, which has been sought to be brought to the notice of the Indologists by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in her work under review, she accepted the popular version that it was an appendix to the *Viṣṇupuráṇam*, and refrained from making observation on the various considerations which are connected with this matter. A separate enumeration of the *Mánava*, *Saura*, *Śiva* and *Viṣṇudharmas* over and above the names of the eighteen Mahápuráṇas go clearly to point to a reason for the same ; and the reason obviously lies in the existence of a branch of knowledge under the name of *Dharma*, distinguishable from another of the name of *Puráṇas*. In both, however, we have yet to hear the last word about their origin.

The origin of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* has now come to be shrouded in the same mystery which has gathered round the origin of many matters of Ancient India, in which the substance received its written garb long after it had become well-known by centuries of oral transmission. The incidental mention in the *Bhaviṣya Puráṇam* that the *Viṣṇudharma* used to be called a *Jaya* work by the learned, shows clearly that its origin has to be sought for in an age prior to that of the *Bhaviṣya Puráṇam*.[1] Many matters dealt with in the Viṣṇudharma, or for the matter of that, in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, may be found adequately dealt with almost in the same way in writings of prior ages. The anatomical proportions of the human body with all their details are not only to be found in the books on medicine, but may also be found noted incidentally in purely Vedic literature.[2] Many technical terms, indicative of well established rules or canons, may be traced in oldest Sanskrit literature as analysed in the *Vyákaraṇam* of *Páṇini*. The actual age when the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* came to be compiled and reduced into writing has been taken by Dr. Stella Kramrisch to be synchronous with the 7th century of the Christian era—a view which may not, therefore, be found convincing. The first portion of the work contains several names of kings of different provinces of India, presumably as contemporary rulers, in a way to suggest that the compilation was made during their age. This has not been noticed by her, nor any attempt made to discuss its bearing on the question. These names of kings and kingdoms are *Paurāṇik*, and not yet connected with accounts of available history.

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[1] Dynasties of the Kali Age, Pargiter, p. xiii, note.

[2] Vedic Index (Macdonell and Keith), Vol. II, pp. 358-362, may be consulted with profit.

The real importance of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* does not, however, lie so much in any accurate determination of its actual date, as in the various informations contained in it about the main features of Indian art. The publication of an essay on the subject, though somewhat misleading on account of the title given to it, must be welcomed as a desirable one. Strict discipline should, however, require in a University publication absolute correctness even to the minutest details of texts and translations. Not mastering Sanskrit language, and having a limited knowledge of the ancient lore through writings which for want of better names are called translations, Dr. Kramrisch made her work bristle with insurmountable difficulties.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in her solicitude to support her opinion that the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* as it has come down to us, was first reduced into writing in the 7th century of the Christian era, went beyond her depth to discover a valuable clue in the enumerations of Rasas, noticeable in literature relating to dramatic performances and pictorial art. In the dramatic performances the last Rasa or the *sánta* was not intended for separate representation as it was not possible to do so, because it was the result of faithful representation of the other Rasas. Hence Bharata said quite distinctly that "in dramatic literature" the number of Rasas should be taken as eight. This means that although the number is really nine, it is for all practical purposes eight in dramatic performances. Without taking this into consideration she compares 8 with 9 Rasas, and finding 9 Rasas in the pictorial art, concludes from the same that an additional Rasa came to be introduced in a subsequent age. There is no proof to support this view nor any reason to hold that the number of Rasas was originally only eight which was subsequently increased by the addition of one more Rasa when pictorial art came to be properly developed. As instances of this sort go to the root of conclusions on which historical facts are sought to be supported, one should not pass instances of this nature as trivial or unworthy of criticism.

The portion of the work that purports to be a translation of the original, definitely indicated by the mention of chapter and verse, will be found to give only a superficial idea in many cases. The difficulty attached to correct translation must account for the nature of the achievements of her collaborator Rakhahari Chatterjee who helped her in the matter. A few instances may be pointed out to show how the performance fell short of actual requirements.

In connection with what purports to give us the translation of the verses 1-18 of chapter 35, we find that "in the middle of the entire length of the figure is the penis." As the limb in question is a pendant of some length, it is difficult to find from this what point in it would indicate the middle of the length of the whole human body, from head to foot. This vagueness arises obviously from a faulty text, due to fault of the scribe, passed uncorrected by the editors of the printed edition, in which the word occurs as *Medhram* instead of as *Medhrantaram*. The right word occurs in the Brihat Samhitā (chapter 57, v. 16) where the commentator Bhattotpala explained it to indicate the middle of the total length of the *Medhram*, by the epithet *Linga-madhyam*. The mistake here was of the scribe's ; the translator's share lay in this indiscrimination in accepting as correct a text that was obviously wrong.

In chapter 37, verses 1-17, the printed text has the following:—"*Chápákáram bhaben-netram yogabhúminirikshanát*'—which has been rendered into English as follows:—"the eye assumes the shape of a bow when looking at the ground with meditation." Waddel noticed in the images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Tibet, this peculiarity of the eye, which he ascribed to a "dreamy look." This feature was, by no means, a local trait of Tibetan art, but was in vogue in India also, and an examination of the upper eyelids would show that they bulge out a little in the middle calling to mind the bulging out of the middle point of a bow where it is held by the grip of the bowman. It is this *Akára* or shape of a particular portion of the *Chápa* (bow) which was indicated, and the reason of it by the assertion that this was due to the looking on the *Yogabhúmi*. The word *Bhúmi* literally means ground ; but it was used in other senses also, such as may be found in the word Dasabhúmi. Here Yogabhúmi appears to have been used in a technical sense, on which an ascetic should concentrate his external eyesight to achieve firmness of inward vision.

In the first chapter, styled as, KATHAPRASTAVANA, at the beginning of the first part of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, we have a story, with an enumeration of the names of many kings, that king VAJRA, solicited by the contemporary rulers of all parts of India, including the Deccan (Dravida), approached the sage *Márkaṇḍeya*, who narrated the subject-matter of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* before the assembly of the kings. The text places this event in the *Kali-age* without disclosing any material to determine its historical bearing, suggesting thereby a prehistoric time. As this work, the *Viṣṇudharma*, is included in the list of the *Jaya* works and mentioned as such in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇam assigned by Pargiter to the earlier epochs of the Christian era, internal evidence cannot justify the adoption of the 7th century as the time of its composition or compilation. But this internal evidence, supplied by the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇam* and also by the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* itself, has not been noted or noticed in this connection.

In chapter 42, verses 1-84, occurs a word SAMVATSARA along with the word *Purohita,* both being jointly mentioned in the dual number as *Sámvatsara-Purohitau.* In the translation the word *Sámvatsara* has been called SIVA, without any reason for this assertion. The mention of the two together in the dual number shows "Office," presumably allied somewhat necessarily with one another. The word occurs in the *Brihat Samhitá* of Varáha-Mihira: —In chapter 52, verse 1, in an epithet VIGAGDHA SAMVATSARA PRITYAU, the word *Sámvatsara,* as one of the components was interpreted by the annotator Bhattotpala by the word DAIVAJNA (fortune-teller or calculator of auspicious matter). It occurs in the same work in the same chapter in verse 96 as "KALE SAMVATSARODDISTE," where the component *Sámvatsara* was interpreted by the same commentator by the same word DAIVAJNA used in the same sense. This word in the technical sense occurs pretty frequently in Sanskrit literature and leaves no room for any doubt or uncertainty about its real meaning.[1] In another place in the *Brihatsaṃhitá* the word occurs in the sense noted above and is interpreted to indicate a person who is either versed in or is learning a branch of knowledge which is related to information about the year.

Inspite of mis-interpretations and shortcomings of this nature, the translation of Rakhahari Chatterjee helped Dr. Kramrisch in arranging her publication. The first enterprise in this behalf has been greatly improved upon by the second one in this revised and enlarged edition. As this has drawn attention of the learned world to what may still be found in fragments of Sanskrit literature about the aims and methods of Indian art, the work has to be judged by its success in the main. India suffered, and suffered for long, in the estimation of foreign scholars on account of their inability to approach and study the subject in the right mood. Sympathy, and sympathy alone, is the first requisite in a study of this nature; but Indian art lingered long before it commenced only quite recently to receive some sympathetic attention. The publication of specimens of art alone cannot be expected to dispel the darkness with quickness. The literary information that may be gathered from books of this nature cannot be lightly ignored. In the introductory portion of this publication, the learned writer has revealed in most cases a correct and judicious appreciation of the real value of Indian art.

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[1] The lexicon AMARKOSHA (2. 8. 14) refers to this word.

This shows clearly that the word Sámvatsara should have offered no difficulty to the translator if he consulted the standard lexicon of Amarasiṃha.

All pictorial matters, used in the beginning to be designated by a common name *Chitram* (literally variegated), raised a presumption that a display of suitable colours for different parts, constituting the variegation, was looked upon as an essential feature. Form alone was for giving articulation to different parts and accentuation according to their appropriate necessity. That cannot by itself constitute a complete picture; nor a display of light and shade, nor use of artificial accessories in the shape of dress and ornaments, nor even a mere pigmentation of suitable colours. It was all,—articulation and accentuation of lines,—a development of moulded appearance by devices of display of light and shade,—additional extraneous elements of beauty and grace as well as the dignity and grandeur which colour can clothe the picture with—that was deemed necessary from the earliest stage, making Indian art essentially one of lines, distinguishable from the one of mass of European art. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* gives a clear classification of two matters—conception and execution treated as separate yet allied and inseparable elements of the same thing, giving idealism to reality and realism to ideality. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* deals in the first place with *sútram* and in the second place with *Kalpa*, indicating thereby that a knowledge of the *Chitra-Sútram* is essential to that of *Chitra-Kalpa* and *vice versâ*, as indicated in chapter 42.

This division shown in the text has not been noticed in her introductory observations by the learned author but has been left to be gathered from the whole context.

Painted surfaces naturally bring in the question of painted figures in wood, stone and metal. No specimens of really ancient wooden figures have been handed down to posterity; but their casual description in the general Sanskrit literature shows that the wooden figures were mere skeletons on which pigments were applied to make them pictures. Stone and metal objects were similarly dealt with. Those ancient specimens which were usually described as guilded, were in fact painted, because the application of the paint in their case was described and treated as a sort of application of colour.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch in her Introduction points out the omission in the Viṣṇudharmottaram of references to any painting beyond the wall, with a casual allusion "to floors inlaid with precious jewels." This may have a pictorial effect, but it can hardly be included in any chapter on painting. The defect was sought by her to be remedied by a reference to information about it of *Dhuli-Chitra*, powder-painting, mentioned in the *Silpa-Ratna* said to be "familiar to Bengali ladies as *Alponá*, temporary coating of powdered colours on a beautiful piece of ground." Although this subject does not appear to be unavoidably concerned with the matter discussed in the *Visṇudharmottaram*, yet she has done well by drawing attention of the learned world to a branch of Indian art, which, howsoever temporary in purpose or character, is an important concern in the life of the people. It may, however, be pointed out that the *Alponá* is not "a coating of powdered colour" as noted by her ; but is a free-hand decorative scheme for an auspicious display of lines, scrolls, and creepers, applied with the finger-tip, dipped in semi-fluid pigment which dries up almost simultaneously with its application, and lasts for a time not very long. When under a bright sky, without a speck of cloud to make it dull, the moon shines on these paintings, usually displayed on festive occasions in the court-yard, it gives to the humble situation a rare beauty of form and purity of colour. The word Alponá in Bengali is a contracted form of the Sanskrit word *Alepaná* or *Alimpaná* and as such, distinguishes the subject-matter indicated by it from anything that may be said to be a product of powdered colours. *Dhuli-Chitra* of the *Silpa-Ratna* differs in this from *Alponá*, which, on account of its freehand production, cannot find a place in a treatise on painting proper in which a strict adherence to well established proportions is necessary, and not optional. *Alepaná* or *Alimpaná* occurs in Sanskrit lexicons of later days, the Dhuli-Chitra of the Silpa-Ratna is, however, still in use in the production of *Yantra-diagrams* necessary for worship. Powders of five primary colours, strewn over with care on well-proportioned lines in a definite diagram are still used to produce this class of temporary painting. They used at one time to be extended to the decoration of floors on which dishes of meals used to be laid before the guests, a reference to which may still be found in Sanskrit literature. The *Alponá* will deserve attention of the learned if it can be properly studied, described, and discussed. As it is essentially a lady's art, our learned writer has here a branch of study peculiarly her own.

As *Alimpaná* or *Alpaná*, as it is called in Bengali, does not re-represent a regular picture, but only an allied form of pictorial art, it had naturally no place in the scientific account to which the *Visṇudharmottaram* appears to have been limited. Yet the *Alimpaná* or *Alpaná* has all the look of primitiveness in its evolution. It aimed at a display of auspicious figures and signs, consisting of *Patra* (leaves), *Valli* (creeper), *Ghata* (pitcher), *Svastika, Nandyávarta, Srivatsa*, and other auspicious objects. animate and inanimate, real and imaginary, which had received universal recognition from time immemorial. The plinth, the steps, the court-yard, the wooden seats, and the like, were its usual places of display, connected mostly with ceremonials—spiritual or temporal. Eastern India and the end of the autumn harvest were, and still are, favourite place and time for its universal display. The rice-cake, the long expected annual delicacy after a toilsome monsoon, requiring hard labour for the growth of paddy, added and still add to the festivities which gladden the cottages of the country. The word occurs in Sanskrit lexicons, and one of them, the *Trikánḍa-seṣa*, calls it *Mandodakam* (starch-liquid), revealing incidentally the material required for the purpose,—material different in composition and consistency from that which used to produce what the *Silpa-Ratna* called *Dhuli-Chitra.*

Vartaná, used evidently in a technical sense in the *Visṇudharmottaram*, to indicate display of light and shade, does not occur in ordinary Sanskrit lexicons. Three methods of production, though clear enough from their contexts, are beset with technical difficulties. The first is called *Patrajá*, the second *Haiviká* at one place and *Hairiká* at another, and the third the *Vindujá*. The first is to be produced by lines resembling leaves, *Patrákritibhi rekhábhi*, the second is only called " very fine " *Atiba súkhsma*, while the third is called a product of stamping, *Stamvaná-jukta*. Dr. Stella Kramrisch has assigned no reason for taking the second as *Hairiká*, appertaining to the nature of diamonds (*Hiraka*), indicating a process of production of a mass of crystalline forms technically called *Hairaká*.

The elaborate directions about fore-shortening are noted under the head of *Kshaya* and *Vriddhi* which may be more expressively called in English " Waning and Waxing," for which purpose the flat front view, showing the entire length of the face, from the chin to the root of the hair, and its entire maximum breadth, from ear to ear, along the forehead, has to be taken as the initial one. Each waning of half the face corresponds to a proportionate waxing of the remaining half, until a complete view of the whole back alone is obtained, every position being described by a technical term.

The *Visṇudharmottaram* rightly concludes its lessons with the assertion that in painting the chief essential element is *Sádṛshya-karaṇam*. This word, used in a technical sense, discloses the distinction between *Dṛshyam* and *Sádṛshyam* ; the first, as indicative of the object, the second, of an impression given by it. Any copy, by a mechanical process or otherwise such as photography, does not make it cease to be *Dṛshya*, and is distinguishable from its impression, the *Sádṛshyam*. While the one is a mere copy, the other is a creation. In this lies the secret to the mystery of all Indian art, which had to be repeatedly discussed before it can be explained or realised. The work of Dr. Stella Kramrisch will be an addition to the stock of knowledge of Indologists, unacquainted with Sanskrit, and gradually help them to a better appreciation of Oriental Art.

A. K. Maitra

Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day:—By C. R. Fray, Professor of Economic History at the University of Toronto—Demy, pp. 458 + xii. Published by Longmans Green & Co.

The book under review is divided into four parts in which the learned author gives a comprehensive survey of English fiscal policy, trade, agriculture, industry, labour and evolution of social life, practically all topics which bear on the economic history of a nation. In his learned introduction, the author gives us a clear estimate of Adam Smith and his influence on the economic thought of the nineteenth century. He notes the characteristics of Smith's epoch-making treatise and points out the defects of that book. Next, in connection with the fiscal policy of England, he gives us a clear idea of the economic principles of Walpole and Pitt and then passes on to the great services of Huskisson and Peel who resumed the 'work of fiscal reform which Pitt began and the French wars arrested.' After Peel, we have an estimate of Gladstone and this is followed by a very illuminating discussion of Chamberlain's "Imperial Spirit." The lessons of the Great War are then enumerated and the author discusses the spirit of the social legislation of the day. In the second part we have an account of the growth of British foreign trade as well as the legislation for its protection from rivals like Holland, Spain or France. We have, moreover, careful discussions of important topics like trade balance, the growth of ports and merchant shipping, the construction of roads and canals, and the extension of railways and motor transport. In the third part of the volume, agriculture and industry are dealt with in great length. The gradual progress of agriculture is described and many allied topics receive their due share of the author's attention. In connection with the industries of England we have not only the history of the "Industrial Revolution," but the gradual development of the individual industries, together with the causes and circumstances that helped their growth. In the last part of the book, we have a careful survey of changed conditions as well as an analysis of present problems. The reaction of industrialism and the consequent social evils are clearly explained and the author gives us a summary of the most recent legislation on labour and trade-unionism. The section of "dogma and revolt" traces the growth of rival schools of economic thought and gives us a clear account of the inter-relation of schools of thought and their social ideals.

The book is very ably written and gives in a few hundred pages, a summary of the economic and industrial progress of England during the last two centuries.

The author has not only the outlook of an economic historian, but a rare insight into the problems of a great empire. His ideas are very clear and his exposition very lucid. Written in simple language, the book is bound to be of value to students and scholars alike. We recommend it heartily to all who take interest in problems of modern life, especially to the students of our Universities.

N. C. B.

Principles of Indian Śilpasāstra—By Phanindranath Bose, M.A., Prof. of History, Visvabhāratī. Royal 8vo, pp. 90 + appendices pp. 18, comprising Sanskrit texts + 4 pp. ; with a foreward by Dr. J. H. Cousens, D.Litt., published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

This volume is bound to evoke interest in the minds of those who take care to enquire into the history of Indian Art. The author who is a Professor of History in Visvabhāratī, is eminently one of those who are enquiring into the glorious past of their motherland. In the first chapter of the work the author discusses the origin of silpa and in the next chapter we have an enumeration of the works on Indian art which have been published or of those which are not yet in print. The third chapter discusses the principles of Indian art and sculpture while in the fourth we find a mention of *Pratimā-lakṣanam*. In the fifth chapter the author enquires into the beginnings of Hindu images and his sixth chapter lays down the traditional conventions of Indian art. In the seventh and eighth chapters, we have details about sculpture and painting while the ninth gives us an estimate of the contributions of Indian art. In the first appendix we have the text of the Mayasāstram and in the second extracts from the Pratimā-lakṣaṇam.

The book under review, though it cannot be called a comprehensive survey of Indian art, will serve as an introduction to the detailed study of that fascinating subject. Within the narrow compass of 90 pages, the author has discussed almost all important points relating to the history of art in India, as well as its meaning with the Indian artist. In all topics, he has given us his views rather briefly and soberly. In spite of this however, he seems to base his conclusions more or less on those of European writers and neglects in many cases opportunities of displaying his originality. To give one or two instances, he fails to recognise the higher antiquity of silpa which is clearly alluded to in connection with the mention of the sacerdotal silpas in some of the Brāhmaṇas. Similarly, no mention is made of the rudiments of Vāstu-Vidyā in the Grihya or other allied sūtras. Moreover, the author ought to have made his bibliography more exhaustive, by mentioning valuable works like the Vīra-mitrodaya (Lakṣaṇa-prakāsa) or the Hayasīrsa-Pancarātram. The language of the book is good but innumerable misprints occur.

N. C. B.

The Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra of the Maitrāyaṇia Sākhā—With the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra—Edited with an introduction by Rāmakṛṣṇa Harshajī Sāstrī and a preface by B. C. Lele, M.A., Baroda College. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. No. XXXV. 258+9+31. Royal.

This is one of the new additions to the Oriental Series instituted by the government of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, and will be welcomed by all who take interest in the religion and language of the Aryans of India. The Gṛhyasūtras are invaluable, since they give us details about the rites and ceremonies relating to the domestic life of Hindus and many of these are still performed. A number of Gṛhya texts were published in Europe, and the text of the Mānava School was edited by Dr. Fredrich Knauer in 1897 with extracts only from the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra.

The present edition gives us the complete text of the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra, and we have two introductions, one in English and the other in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit introduction will be of benefit to indigenous scholars, but it would have been better if the English introduction would have been more exhaustive. As it is, the introduction or preface by Prof. Lele is good and scholars will mostly agree with his views relating to the composition or date of the book. His explanation as to the arrangement of the subject-matter is also reasonable. There are however inaccuracies to which we draw the attention of Mr. Lele. Thus, the selection of the bride, through the ordeal of eight lumps of clay, is regarded as something strange. This, however, is not peculiar to the Mānavas and is found in Gobhila and some other Gṛhya works. Again, there is a slip when the writer of the preface speaks of the *upanayana* of the four castes, instead of three. There is another lamentable slip and the name of Dr. F. Knauer appears as Knaner. The large number of misprints have been noted in the errata, but it would have been better if more care would have been taken to revise the proof-sheets. Anyhow the volume will be useful to scholars and we thank the Baroda Durbar for its patronage of Sanskrit learning.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

OUR NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

It is with real pleasure that we offer our most sincere congratulations to the Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt, on his recent appointment as our Vice-Chancellor and we heartily welcome one who has long been associated with us very intimately not only as a Fellow of the University since 1916 and a member of the Syndicate, Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1927, and a member of numerous Boards and Committees but, what to us is more significant, also as an important member of the Teaching Staff of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts in the welfare of which he has invariably evinced a zealous interest inspite of whatever honest difference of opinion that may exist between his views, ideas and ideals and those cherished by the staunch advocates of the teaching side of the Calcutta University.

We are also glad to bear in mind that when in 1918 the *Calcutta Review*, of which the first number appeared in May, 1844, under the able editorship of Sir John Kaye with whom were associated as collaborators men of high repute like Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Alexander Duff and Mr. Marshman, commenced its second series, it was W. S. Urquhart, Esq., M.A., then Professor of Philosophy at the Scottish Churches College of which he now happens to be the Principal, who assumed the responsible office of its Editor and in a very lucid contribution to the first number of the New Series (No. 271, Quarterly, for January, 1913) gave an illuminating survey of the history and achievements of this Magazine. We are proud that our present Vice-Chancellor still keeps his close touch with us as a member of the Board of Editors from whom we naturally expect hearty co-operation and able guidance in promoting the interests of what has practically been recognised as the academic organ of the University of Calcutta.

The Rev. Dr. Urquhart's appointment bids fair to promise a new era of peaceful progress and growth for the Teaching University of Calcutta at the end of a very trying period of storm and stress for its Post-Graduate Arts side which, we now hope, has at last passed through its worst days.

He brings an open mind and a sympathetic heart and possesses a thorough knowledge of all important details and he fully realises the immediate and urgent needs, as much as the difficulties and dangers, of the complex organisation of which he is now the responsible Executive Head.

The very recent interview given by him to a representative of the *Statesman*, as reported in its issue of the 28th August last, encourages us in hoping that he will, at all events, very soberly give the fullest consideration to every vexed question affecting the future of the University.

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Death of Lord Haldane.

We deeply regret to record the death of the Right Hon'ble Viscount Haldane of Cloan, O.M., at the age of 72. He was a distinguished statesman and philosopher of the time. At the age of 16 in 1873 he went to Edinburgh University and studied philosophy under the late Professor Fraser. Three years later he got First Class Honours in Philosophy at the M.A. Examination and obtained the Fergusson Scholarship of the four Scottish Universities. Then he went to Gottingen and studied under Lotze. He was much influenced by Kant and especially by Hegel. "On the whole," he writes, " I think Hegel has come nearer to the ultimately true view than any one since the ancient Greeks." After finishing his University career, he joined the Bar and took to politics but he never ceased to be interested in philosophy and to study it. He made his *debut* in philosophy as an editor of a volume of essays written by young Hegelians in 1883 entitled *Essays in Philosophical Criticism.* He contributed a very thoughtful essay to this volume. In the midst of his active career as a lawyer and politician he was appointed Gifford Lecturer in the University of St. Andrews in 1902. The lectures he delivered have been published under the title of *Path way to Reality.*

Lord Haldane entered the House of Commons (he was then not a peer, but plain Mr. R. B. Haldane) as a Liberal member from a Scottish constituency in 1885. In the following year the Liberal Party was shattered by the controversy over Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and was driven into the wilderness for twenty long years. When the Liberals came into power in 1906, he became Secretary of State for War in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's ministry. In 1910 he was made a peer and elevated to the position of Lord High Chancellor. His great achievement as War Secretary for which he will live in history was his creation of the British Expeditionary Force, which made it possible for England to take the field immediately after the declaration of war in 1914. But for the prompt appearance of British divisions in France, the French army would have been hopelessly overwhelmed and Germany would have speedily won the war. An ungrateful section of Lord Haldane's countrymen forgot this and malignantly attacked him in the days of the War for his German scholarship and his desire to cultivate good relationship with Germany. He had once spoken of Germany as his " spiritual home." All that he meant was that German philosophy, particularly the philosophy of Hegel, was the source of his inspiration. The expression was misinterpreted and vindictively used to lower him in the estimation of the British public. So great was the prejudice created against him that the Conservatives refused to join Mr. Asquith's first Coalition Ministry unless Lord Haldane was left out. Mr. Asquith was most unwilling to do this and Sir Edward Grey was inclined to resign. But the duty of remaining at his post at a time of crisis led him to change his mind. Deeply hurt, Lord Haldane found solace in philosophy to which he turned with undivided attention. The result was the publication of his famous book entitled the *Reign of Relativity,* which went through several editions within a few months, in 1921. "On the day of my release from office as Lord Chancellor in 1915," he writes in his preface, "I projected this book on Relativity."

Lord Haldane had recently become keenly appreciative of Indian philosophy and regretted that he had not taken to the study of it earlier. His article on "East and West" in the July number of the *Hibbert Journal* shows his attitude towards Indian philosophy.

In spite of his temporary unpopularity Lord Haldane was generally regarded as one of the greatest intellects of England. He was a man of versatile genius capable of achieving distinction in more than one sphere.

A great man and a good man has passed away and the world has sustained an irreparable loss.

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THE LATE RIGHT HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI.

In the death of the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., C.I.E., M.A., D.L., the Moslem community has lost one of its highly cultured representatives and an able champion and India one of her noblest sons. He deservedly won a high reputation as a Judge of the High Court, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and also of the Imperial Legislative Council and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a profound scholar of European fame. As a Fellow of the Calcutta University he rendered signal service in the Faculties of Arts and Law, being attached to the Board of Arabic and Persian Studies, and President of the Faculty of Law. For some years he was also a member of the Syndicate and having served with eminent success as Lecturer of Mahomedan Law at the Presideney College from

1873 to 1878 was appointed in 1884 the Tagore Law Professor. His Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mahomed, Spirit of Islam, Ethics of Islam, A Short History of the Saracens and his two volumes on Mahomedan Law are well-known standard works. In addressing the Special Convocation of December, 1921, which conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Law, the late Sir Asutosh, the then Vice-Chancellor, referred in highly eulogistic terms to "his scholarly contributions to the exposition and development of legal principles which outstripped the boundaries of Moslem Jurisprudence." His is the great honour of having been the only Indian contributor to the Cambridge History. We sincerely offer our condolence to his bereaved family.

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THE HON'BLE MR. RAMAPRASAD MOOKERJI, M.A., B.L.

We offer our hearty congratulations to the Hon'ble Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerji, M.A., B.L., on his election to the Council of State. His sturdy independence and honesty of purpose have already endeared him to the public. We have no doubt he will add to his reputation in this new sphere of work also.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Arts for 1926 has been awarded to Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., for his thesis on "Aswa Ghosh : Philological and Literary Study."

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THE BEERESHUR MITTER MEDAL.

The following subjects have been selected for the Beereshur Mitter Medal for 1929 :—

The Silk Industry in Bengal, 1860-1928,

or

Jute Cultivation and Industry in Bengal—their history, economic effects and present position.

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THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZES.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in Arts and Science for the year 1930 :—

Arts—Village Reconstruction.

Science—Soil Acidity and Base Exchange in Soils.

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THE TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP LECTURES.

The following three subjects have been selected for the Tagore Law Professorship Lectures for 1930 :—

(1) The History of the Hindu Law in the Vedic Age and in Post-Vedic Times down to the Institutes of Manu.

(2) History of Legal Development in India during the Period of Mahomedan Administration in India.

(3) The Law relating to Dissolution of Marriage and Judicial Separation in British India.

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D. P. H. EXAMINATION.

An interval of 14 days will be allowed between the commencement of the D. P. H. Examination, Part I, and that of

Part II, in order to enable those candidates who would pass Part I of the examination to appear immediately in the Part II of the examination.

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MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

The next Medical Examination will be held on the 19th November, 1928.

The 15th October, 1928, has been fixed as the latest date for submission of applications and fees for admission to the examinations.

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PROFESSOR C. V. RAMAN'S NEW DISCOVERY IN SCIENCE.

Professor Arnold Sommerfield of Munich, one of the greatest living Physicists has written a letter dated the 16th June, 1928, to Prof. C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., highly eulogising him on his new discovery and his papers on the optical analogue of the Compton Effect. Professor Siegbahn, the eminent Swedish Physicist and Nobel Laureate, has also written a letter to Professor C. V. Raman praising him for his scientific discovery which he terms as "indeed a wonderful discovery."

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THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE CALCUTTA MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY.

At its last annual meeting, the Calcutta Mathematical Society resolved to celebrate the twentieth year of its foundation by bringing out in Volume XX of its *Bulletin*, to be also called the Commemoration Volume, a collection of original papers, by eminent mathematicians all over the world, on Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Astronomy and the History of

Mathematics and Astronomy. The Society also resolved that the President, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, be requested to invite contributions to the Commemoration Volume. It is gratifying to note that the invitations sent out by Professor Ganesh Prasad have met with very encouraging response. Most of the mathematicians, invited to send contributions, have expressed their appreciation of the honour done to them by the invitation, and many of them have either already sent their contributions or promised to send them in the near future. Papers have been received from Sir Frank Dyson (Astronomer Royal of England) and Professors Sir Joseph Larmor (Cambridge), Horace Lamb (Cambridge), A. R. Forsyth (London), Ludwig Bieberbach (Berlin), Leonida Tonelli (Bologna), Leopold Fejér (Budapest), R. Fueter (Zürich), F. Riesz (Szeged, Hungary), W. Sierpinski (Warsaw), Hans Hahn (Vienna), E. T. Whittaker (Edinburgh), Niels Nielsen (Copenhagen), D. E. Smith (New York) and T. Hayashi (Sendai, Japan). The Commemoration Volume will be issued in four parts, each consisting of about 80 pages. The authorities of the Calcutta University Press have kindly consented to make special arrangements for printing the volume, and it is hoped that the first part will be out in the first week of October next.